INSIDE: The economy's discordant warning signals

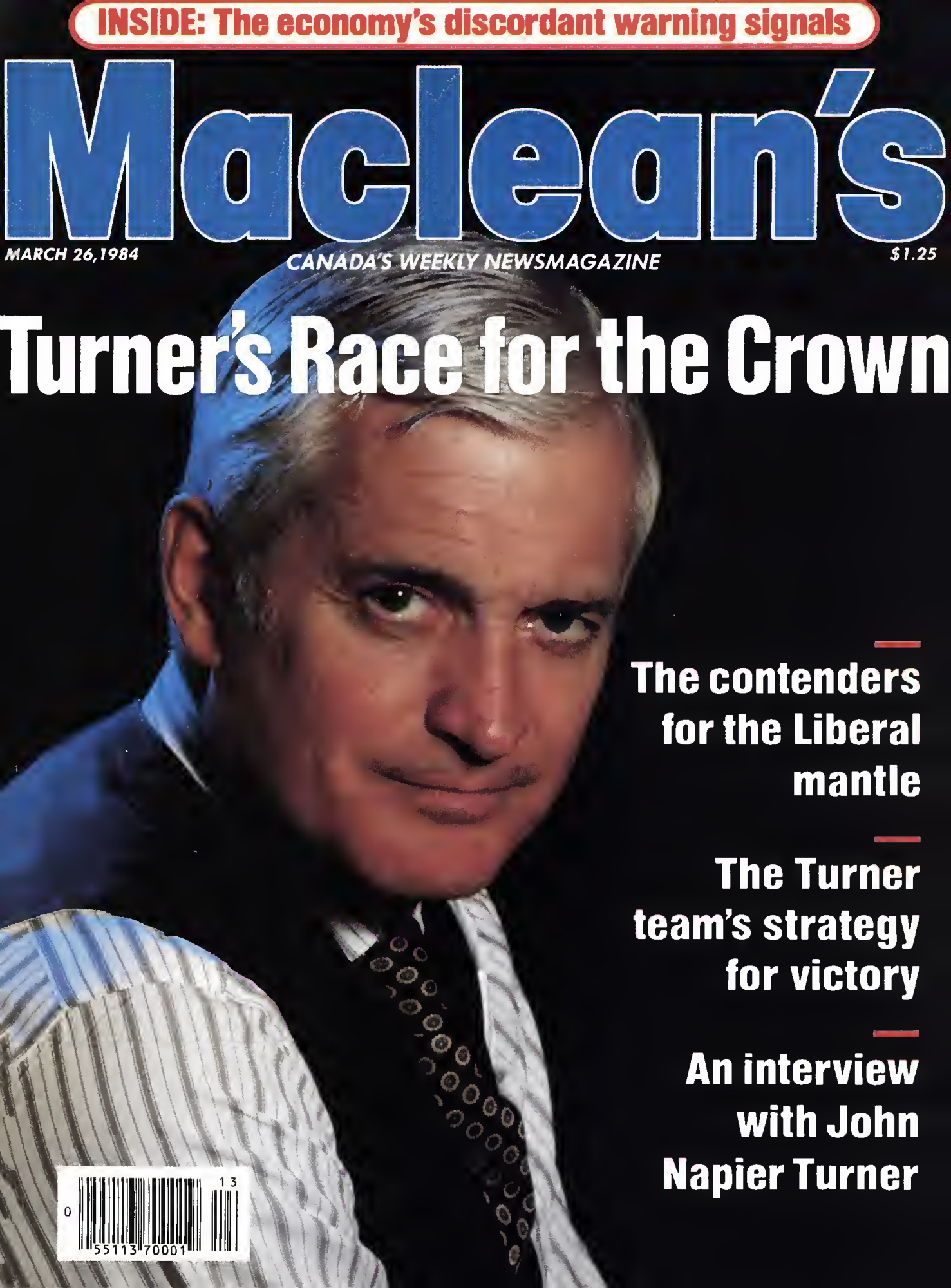
Maclean's

MARCH 26, 1984

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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Turner's Race for the Crown



The contenders for the Liberal mantle

The Turner team's strategy for victory

An interview with John Napier Turner

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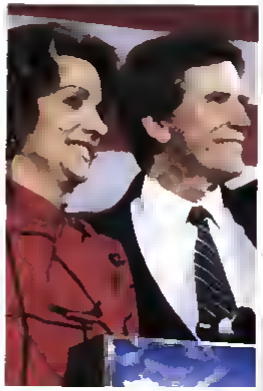
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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

MARCH 26, 1984 VOL. 97 NO. 13



Super Tuesday, super race

Walter Mondale's primary victories slowed Gary Hart's campaign momentum in what is shaping up as an epic struggle for the Democratic nomination —*Page 26*



Carole Laure in retrospect

French-Canadian actress Carole Laure, acclaimed star of *Maria Chapdelaine*, won special honors at the Canadian Images Film Festival —*Page 48*

COVER

Turner's tilt at the crown

John Turner made a smooth re-entry into public life last week, formally announcing that he was a candidate in the Liberal leadership race. The former finance minister is the early favorite in the contest, and his organizers have produced a master plan that they hope will win the convention and defeat the Tories in a fall election. —*Page 10*

COVER PHOTO BY BRIAN WILLER, MACLEAN'S



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The economy's disarray

Last week's turbulent Canadian-dollar trading and the subsequent rise in interest rates raised questions about the health of Canada's recovery —*Page 34*



Canada climbs aboard

After months of anxious waiting, Ottawa has named the first Canadian who will orbit the Earth. On Oct. 24, Marc Garneau will board the shuttle Discovery —*Page 43*



A cover's message

The most heated discussions that take place at *Maclean's* each week deal with the cover subject and the way in which we will present the cover itself. That is largely because the choice of a cover is the single most important decision that a newsmagazine makes each week. Many criteria are involved in the selection: our subjective—and sometimes fallible—assessment of the subject's significance, our interpretation of the level of readers' interest, our designers' ability to illustrate the subject effectively.



Janigan and Willan: a decision

The one constant factor in the decision-making process is that when there is a major news event of genuine national importance, it takes precedence over virtually all other possible contenders. The issue becomes slightly more complicated when the news involves a politician who is competing with others for a prized position. In that case there is a natural queasiness among journalists who fear that selecting *any* of the competing characters for cover treatment may create a misleading impression that the magazine is endorsing, or at least favoring, a particular individual.

This week's cover on John Turner, however, reflected a decision arrived at with comparable ease. His future has preoccupied Canadians almost since he left the Commons on Feb. 12, 1976. And his return to active politics created a national sensation. He was, by any definition, the news of the week. Neither more nor less. Ottawa Bureau Chief Carol Goar and bureau staffer Mary Janigan spearheaded an 11-member reporting and writing team to put together the cover package, and Chief Staff Photographer Brian Willer took the cover picture.

Kevin Doyle

Maclean's March 26, 1984

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Kevin Doyle

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After Trudeau

I am beginning to understand the annoyance of westerners who have heard the results of recent federal elections even before their polls close (*Canada after Trudeau*, Cover, March 12). The media (mostly from Central Canada) have chosen John Turner as the next Liberal leader, and it seems the rest of Canada has only to crown him. It is ludicrous, if not downright bizarre, to assume that a man who dropped out of active politics nine years ago will walk away with the leadership. Is Allan Fotheringham's gushing tribute in the same issue (*The Chivas in the Liberal mix*) a hint that he will soon quit to become Turner's press agent?

—ROBERT LAFRANCE,
Birch Ridge, N.B.

The lesser of two evils

The comments regarding new types of long-range weapons (*A safer kind of war*, From the Editor's Desk, Feb. 20) illustrate the extent to which we have become afflicted with the "lesser of two evils" syndrome. Canada, in accepting U.S. foreign policy and nuclear strategy, has reduced itself from that of "peacemaker" to "powder monkey."

—HARVEY KVILE,
Fort St. John, B.C.

Why you feel compelled to support the militarist status quo and actually promote the public acceptance of an escalated arms race in nonnuclear weapons is beyond me. When all around us evidence is being amassed to suggest that the human race can no longer afford to resolve international differences by armed conflict and when we are beginning to pursue new directions for civilization—encouraged by the all-annihilating reality of nuclear weaponry—you wax philosophical about "a safer kind of war" and insinuate some Strangelove vision of the strategic beauty of "deep strike" missiles. —CHRISTOPHER LOWRY,
Toronto



MARK PERLSTEIN/PICTURE GROUP FOR MACLEAN'S

Turner: waiting for Canada's coronation

The whole truth

Charles Gordon's March 5 column, *Video sex and violence*, was fallacious because it did not mention "the whole truth." The entire basis for Gordon's argument was an interview with one member of a rock music group, and he used one of its videos to show a "well-rounded" example of the industry. The fact is that only a small percentage of all music videos consists of heavy-metal music, and only some of those use the "psychologically" damaging sexual imagery he associated with all such forms of entertainment. —PETER J. NORMAN
Burlington, Ont.

The need for a sharper point

I could not agree more with George Bain's call to sharpen the blue pencil (*Precision and the art of the blue pencil*, Media Watch, Feb. 27). While I presume that the "withers" were deliberate, I wonder, to quote from the article, "Where was the steely eyed editor of yore" (I would have hyphenated "steely-eyed") and "What sort of editor let by him, untouched, a reference to" something that I had not previously realized: bulls have principles too, as in "a bull's principle purpose in life [illegible]." The principal principle of that principle may be a lot of bull. There may even be a principle/principal at stake/steak here. Someone's blue pencil needs a sharper point. —JOYCE DEMERAH LAVIGNE,
Renfrew, Ont.

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MARRIED: Greek shipping heiress **Christina Onassis**, 33, one of the world's richest ($1.9 billion) women and the only surviving child of the late shipping tycoon **Aristotle Onassis**, to French businessman **Thierry Roussel**, 31, who runs a Parisian modelling agency, in Paris. The couple first wed in a civil ceremony and remarried later in the day in a Greek Orthodox church. It is Roussel's first marriage and Onassis's fourth; she was previously married to Soviet civil servant **Sergei Kauzov**, Greek banking heir **Alexandre Andreadis** and Los Angeles real estate broker **Joseph Bolker**.

DIED: Roloff Beny, 60, the flamboyant, world-famous photographer from Medicine Hat, Alta., of a heart attack, in Rome. Beny, who had lived in Rome since 1956, became the centre of a political controversy in 1979 when the Opposition objected to Alberta's Conservative government's proposal to purchase 84,000 of Beny's negatives for $545,000 (the government backed down). The Empress of Iran, **Farah Pahlavi**, commissioned two of Beny's 12 books, *Persia: Bridge of Turquoise* (1975) and *Iran, Elements of Destiny* (1978), collections of photographs depicting the wealth and glories of Iran before the shah's 1979 fall. Critics complained that Beny's surveys deliberately ignored images of poverty and repression.

DIED: Aurelio Peccei, 75, a founding member of the Club of Rome, of a heart attack, in Rome. As president of the club, Peccei published a 1972 study, called *Limits to Growth*, based on computer projections of the durability of world resources—the first such computer analysis. The club, cofounded in 1967 with **Alexander King**, director-general for scientific affairs of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, is based on technical, economic, human and ethical concerns in the world and is restricted to 100 members, four of whom are Canadian.

DIED. Maurice Victor Macmillan, 63, chairman of British publishing house Macmillan & Co. and the only son of former British prime minister **Harold Macmillan**, 90, of complications following heart surgery, in London. Macmillan first won a seat in Parliament in 1955. In 1963 **Sir Alec Douglas-Home** appointed him economic secretary and from 1970 to 1974 he held the various posts of treasury secretary, employment minister and paymaster-general. Macmillan became a viscount last month when **Queen Elizabeth II** awarded his father a hereditary earldom.



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A filmgoer's trust

I could not help thinking as I read Fred Bruning's Feb 13 column, *Treating moviegoers like morons*, that *he* is the one who thinks moviegoers are morons. Bruning charged that the directors of the films *Missing* and *Silkwood* "don't trust us to think." Is Bruning himself not displaying some mistrust in the public when he assumes that they will take a film literally? Those directors' films present what might have happened as food for thought, but they are not responsible for what the public thinks. And perhaps, contrary to Bruning's feelings, they are giving the public credit for the ability to think for itself and decide its feelings on an issue.

—SHELAINE AHO,
Vancouver

An American distinction

In your Jan. 16 issue there was an article in the cover package on Jesse Jackson about Lieut. Robert O. Goodman (*An extraordinary hostage*) which concluded with this remarkable statement on Jackson's presidential bid: "The difference was that this time Robert O. Goodman's team included all of America." Did it include Canada and Mexico and perhaps some Central and South American countries? It is bad enough when citizens of the United States think that "America" means only the United States, but surely a Canadian magazine knows the difference.

—BARBARA MACTAGGART,
Montreal

Dyslexia loses its stigma

I would like to thank you for your article *Insight into dyslexia* (Medicine, Jan. 16). Like many others, I was under the impression that children with dyslexia were slow learners and/or had mental problems. Your informative article gave me new insight into this problem. I hope that it will help to stop the unfair labelling of dyslexics.

—ANN GRABATIN,
Edmonton

On being grey

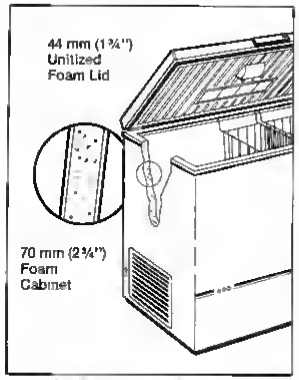
I was surprised that the work of the U.S. architectural firm Arquitectonica moved architect Macy DuBois to comment that "Our days are a bit too grey for all that color" (*Miami's brazen new look*, Architecture, Feb. 27). Grey days do not have any trouble accepting color, the problem is with grey thinking.

—PETER FERGUSON,
Toronto

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FOLLOW-UP

Nuclear carnage on film

In January, 1946, a 10-member U.S. army film crew assembled in Hiroshima and Nagasaki to record the aftermath of the atomic bomb attacks four months earlier. What the crew's production director, 24-year-old Herbert Sussan, saw was so shocking that he hoped the film footage would eventually become a powerful weapon of protest against nuclear war. But in 1946 the war department classified all 95,000 feet of color film (enough for 30 full-length features), preventing the public from seeing the most extensive known record of the Japanese holocaust. In 1979 Tsutoma Iwakura, chief co-ordinator of the Hiroshima-Nagasaki publishing committee, a prominent antinuclear group, found the film in the National Archives in Washington, D.C., and film-makers have since incorporated segments of it into at least six antinuclear documentaries, the best-known of which is the National Film Board of Canada's 1982 Academy award-winning *If You Love This Planet*.

For Sussan, 63, now a retired television producer living in New York, the realization of his goal came none too soon. In 1981 he discovered he had lymphoma, a cancer of the lymph glands common among bomb survivors in Japan. Sussan, who attributes his terminal illness to his army assignment, has become deeply involved in the antinuclear movement and he is working on a photograph-filled autobiography. He returned to Japan last December for the first time since 1946 at the invitation of the Hiroshima-Nagasaki committee. There he attended the opening of the group's documentary, which used his footage. The Japanese media treated Sussan like a hero, but he found that the Japanese had little concern for the A-bomb survivors. Said Sussan: "There seems to be a feeling of shame about the attack. They have covered up almost all the traces of the bombing. And the survivors are considered 'a problem,' just as disabled people are here."

Sussan is now a celebrated figure within the antinuclear movement but for 30 years he waged a lonely campaign to retrieve his film. As a top-ranking producer at CBS and NBC, he made repeated requests for assistance to Pentagon officials and influential politicians. Everyone told him the film was still unavailable to the public, even though the war department had in fact declassified it in 1959. Daniel McGovern, a retired air force colonel who was once in charge of the footage, says that officials "did not want that material shown because it revealed the horrible effects on man, woman and child."

After years of trying, Sussan gave up hope of ever seeing his film again. Then, in 1979, he mentioned its existence to Iwakura, who subsequently found it in the National Archives. Sussan believes that the widespread viewing of the film has helped the antinuclear cause. "We may have broken the ice in getting people to understand," he explained. For Sussan, that cause is all that remains. "I have between two and five years to live. The only thing that interests me is the abolition of nuclear weapons."

—GILLIAN MACKAY in *New York*.



HERBERT SUSSAN

Nagasaki survivor: the most extensive known record of the Japanese holocaust

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A sheikdom in distress

By Anthony Wilson-Smith

The 750 full-time residents of North Hatley, Que., discovered five years ago that Egyptian businessman Saad Gabr had discreetly bought up half of the prime commercial property in their tranquil resort village in Quebec's Eastern Townships, 160 km east of Montreal. Gabr made his purchases in 1979 through third-party agents. In one two-week period in February, 1979, he acquired the village's two marinas, a hardware store, two restaurants, two service stations and a 10-unit apartment building. During the next few years, as local residents learned about the extent of the previously unknown investor's holdings, Gabr announced his intention to spend $50 million to turn North Hatley into an international resort centre and another $250 million to build a space research facility. Now most of the properties that Gabr bought are no longer in business. No one in the Eastern Townships has seen the man whom local people dubbed the "Sheik of Massawippi" (after the lake that the town overlooks) since last summer. And no one seems to know when—or if—he will return.

For many North Hatley residents, Gabr's ambitious plans and his generosity—he once paid a local restaurant owner $1,200 to drive some Saudi Arabian visitors around for a few hours—proved seductive. In addition to his schemes for resort and space research centres, he promised to build an electronics assembly plant, an export promotion centre and an institute of Islamic studies. Said North Hatley Mayor Ruth Taylor: "I think anyone can understand why some people were quite impressed with him."

Gabr, 61, was always vague about his sources of financing. At times he claimed to have made his money by selling scrap metal in Egypt during the Second World War. At other times he attributed his wealth to a trust fund. Still, few people doubted that Gabr had the means to make good on his promises. The few local people whom Gabr, on rare occasions, invited to his house were overwhelmed by its grandiose features, including two living rooms, which seated a combined total of 250 people under matching $100,000 crystal chandeliers. Gabr's high-powered friends also impressed North Hatley residents—Pakistan's President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq and Prince Faisal of Saudi Arabia have visited him.

Some residents had serious reservations about Gabr's plans. They worried that his elaborate schemes would destroy the pastoral quality that has long made North Hatley a favorite summer retreat of Montreal's anglophone elite. After his acquisitions became known, concerned townspeople pressured city council to take some action to curb Gabr's expansionism. At their urging, the councillors passed a stringent zoning bylaw limiting the size of buildings, which scuttled Gabr's resort plans.



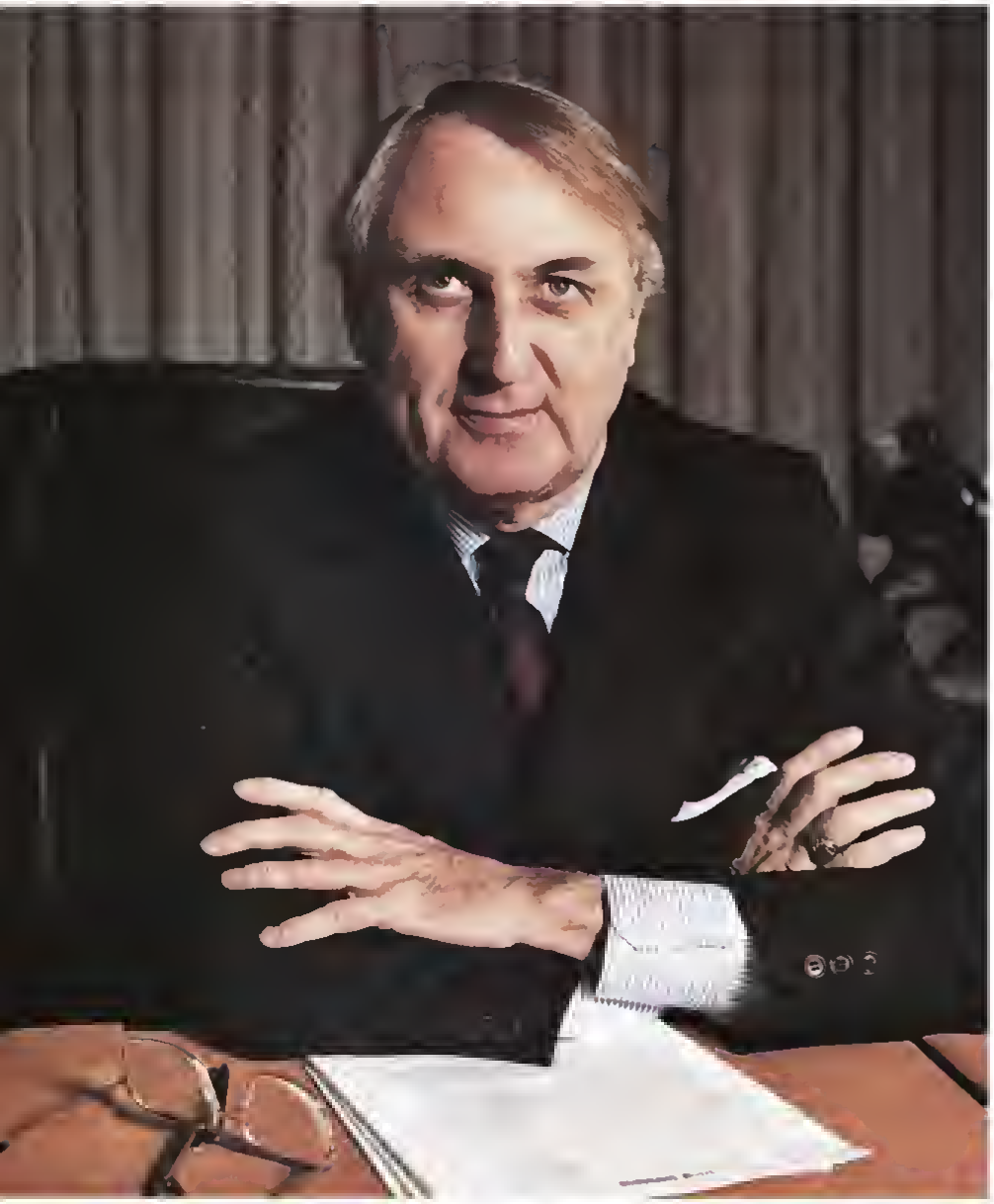
SHERBROOKE RECORD

Gabr: high-powered friends, multimillion-dollar plans

That setback did not discourage Gabr. He continued to buy property in and around the area. In June, 1981, he made his most spectacular acquisition: the 1,400-acre howitzer shell-launching compound of Space Research Corp., which he bought for $1 million after the company declared bankruptcy. Gabr said that he would transform the facility into a satellite-launching industry. In a familiar pattern, after he revealed his plans for the centre he abandoned the project.

Townspeople recall that in 1980, when Gabr invited them to a cornerstone-laying ceremony at the site of what he said would be a technology school, a small crane dropped the stone into a gap in a fake wall while Gabr, a zealous

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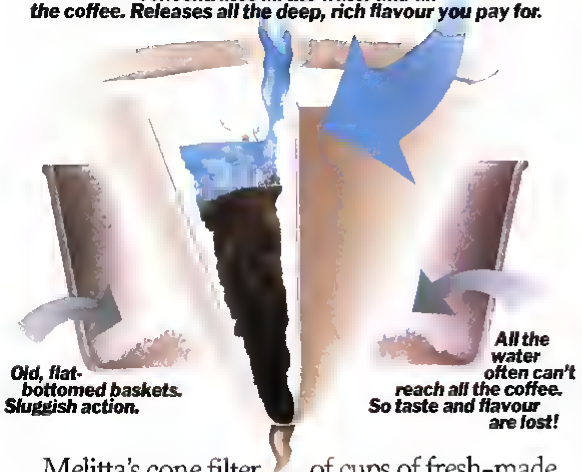
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Moslem, waxed eloquent about the Moslem-Christian world. The next day both the simulated wall and the cornerstone had disappeared, and the site once again became a parking lot. Said Taylor: "He started things and then seemed to forget them or bought things just for the sake of closing them."

Last year townspeople for the first time questioned Gabr's ability to pay his bills. Early in the year his company listed 46 properties in Quebec as security for two loans totalling $35 million. Then in August a bailiff, at the request of a Sherbrooke, Que., businessman to whom Gabr owed $295,000, seized 44 of his properties. At the time, Gabr also faced more than $1 million in lawsuits from former employees and building contractors whom he had allegedly not paid. In December Gabr settled the businessman's claim out of court and had the seizure lifted, which allowed him to put the properties up for sale. But in January he ran into more financial problems when a lawyer, representing 10 former employees who claim that Gabr owes them almost $500,000 in salaries, obtained a court order to have a bailiff seize furnishings, estimated at $30 million, from Gabr's home.

Townspeople believe that Gabr is in either Saudi Arabia or England. Because the man who had been his lawyer, Joseph Cassar of Sherbrooke, stopped representing Gabr for unspecified reasons last fall, he no longer has an official representative in the area. No one answers the door at his home—which locals have dubbed "Baghdad *sur le lac*"—even though two pickup trucks sit near the front entrance and more than half a dozen cars are parked at the rear. His telephones ring unanswered. While Gabr's list of angry creditors is growing, Taylor says that his 1982 property taxes are fully paid, although he is behind in his 1983 payments. She seems unworried that Gabr will default. Said Taylor: "When I have to reach him, I know how to get him."

So do the local real estate agents who have slowly been putting his North Hatley properties onto the market. A group of townspeople is negotiating to buy back the only gas station left in the village—Gabr had the pumps removed from the other—which closed in December. For many North Hatley residents, the loss of the gas station proved intolerable. Said resident Ronald Sutherland: "When I first came here, there were five gas stations, and now there are none. I can forgive or forget a lot of the bizarre things he has done around here, but every time I have to drive eight miles just to fill up, I can't forgive that." As their town struggles to return to normal, most North Hatley residents now fear that Gabr's money has gone the way of his gas pumps.

COLUMN

Misspending of our tax money



By Dian Cohen

On April 1, the government of Canada will begin an annual ritual. The objective of the federal ritual: to spend $98 billion before midnight on March 31, 1985. Of course, the government has at its disposal 260,000 civil servants and 282 elected politicians to accomplish that seemingly formidable task. It means spending $388 million every working day of the year. It is a burden so great as to be depressing.

There are several appalling things about the ritual. The first is that the spending estimates, which the government releases six weeks before the spending actually begins, are exceeded as ritualistically as they are tabled with great expressions of spending restraint. Not once in the past 15 years has the government spent less than it said it would. Never has it stayed within the budget that it set for itself. There is little doubt that the $98 billion, which includes a 10-per-cent increase over last year's actual spending of $89 billion, will be exceeded.

The second appalling thing is the inefficiency with which the government spends our money. Each February the government tells us how it intends to spend federal funds. Ten months later the auditor general publishes his report revealing any wasteful or ineffectual spending. Kenneth Dye, the present auditor general, has said that, philosophically, he is not interested in making his reports supersensational. Nevertheless, in the report that he tabled last December for 1983, the horror stories of waste and inefficiency ran through several hundred pages. Moreover, the auditor general reports regularly that he cannot comment on *all* of the waste or inefficiency because he does not have a big enough staff, because some government record-keeping is so unconventional that he cannot make any sense of it at all; because some Crown corporations—including Eldorado Nuclear Corp., the Canada Parts Corp. and the Canadian Development Investment Corp.—will not give him access to their books.

A third appalling aspect of government spending is the sheeplike acquiescence of the people whose money the government is spending. That is our money. The vast majority of the money governments spend comes from you and from me in our capacity as wage earners, dividend receivers and consumers. We may complain from time to time about our taxes, but how much pressure do we really put on our elected representatives to detail for us exactly what we get for the taxes we pay?

According to the Vancouver-based Fraser Institute, Canadian taxes have from 1961 to 1983 risen faster than any other single item. Taxes, which include the government's borrowing for deficit spending, rose by 1,102 per cent. The consumer price index was up by 270 per cent, and the total income of Canadians rose by 524 per cent. Of course, our income taxes provide the federal government with the lion's share of its spending money. But income taxes constitute only the tip of the iceberg. The average Canadian pays in federal taxes the equivalent of his wages for the first 3½ months of the year. For another seven or eight weeks Canadians work to pay the indirect taxes—the ones that are included in the price of our admission to the movies, the beer we drink, the gasoline we burn and the clothing we wear.

> ***'We now have taxation without representation—a concept so repugnant that people have gone to war'***

What do we get for the thousands of millions of dollars we regularly hand over to the tax man? Universal medicare and hospitalization, for one thing. But while our medicare costs have escalated, we do not have measurably better health care services than we had, say, 20 years ago. We do not yet have an established paramedical system to ensure adequate medical treatment in cases where the specialized services of medical doctors are not needed or are not immediately available. We do have a vastly expanded educational system, which our taxes pay for.

But Canadian businessmen continue to complain that the education our young people get does not adequately prepare them for the realities of the workplace. And our young people voice that same criticism. They claim that their education fails to provide a significant number of them with the means to support themselves. Many Canadian businesses are still forced to advertise abroad for the highly skilled help that does not exist here—engineering and computer expertise, for example—despite our dozens of highly specialized educational institutions. In fact, taxpayers get nicked twice: they subsidize both the schools and the hundreds of thousands of unemployed Canadians collecting unemployment insurance (1.4 million at the end of February). Perhaps many of the Canadians on UIC would not be there if the various retraining programs better prepared them for the jobs that exist.

Our tax dollars have provided us with a Canada Pension Plan (or for Quebec residents, a Quebec Pension Plan), Old Age Security and a Guaranteed Income Supplement to the old-age pension. The provinces provide supplementary social assistance, and municipalities dispense welfare payments. Those payments have also escalated over the years. Still, the vast majority of Canadians living below the poverty line are older people, just as was the case 20 years ago. So what exactly are we getting in exchange for that almost 50 per cent of our wages that we pay in taxes?

There are, of course, other unanswered questions. For instance, is our progressive tax system really progressive? We have known for years that the exemptions, incentives, grants, writeoffs and tax shelters really mean that the more people make the better they can afford to hire someone to figure out how they can pay less. Flat-tax proposals have never gotten off the ground in Canada, but neither have value-added taxes or consumption taxes. In a country where one of the biggest challenges of the next 20 years will be to save enough money to invest in new wealth-creating assets, we cling to the habit of taxing money as it comes in (and so discourage people from working) without even thinking of taxing it as it goes out (which would encourage saving).

Finally, how much pressure have we actually put on our parliamentarians to provide us with a tax system that we can understand? What we now have is taxation without representation, a concept so repugnant that people in earlier times have gone to war to free themselves of it. The $98 billion that Ottawa is eagerly getting ready to spend, and the billions that the provinces dispose of, is *our* money. It is perhaps more than coincidence that the spending race begins at midnight on April Fool's Day.

Dian Cohen is a Montreal-based economics writer.

Turner's race for the crown

By Mary Janigan



John Turner staged an almost flawless entrance back into public life last week. He flew to Ottawa from Toronto, spent the night in a posh suite in the Chateau Laurier hotel, breakfasted alone on tea and a poached egg, and called his wife, Geills, who is on holiday with their children at an undisclosed ski resort. Then, tanned and newly slimmed down, Turner strolled casually through a thicket of microphones and floodlights into a packed hotel news conference to announce that he is applying for the prime minister's job. The declaration was not a surprise—but it still commanded national attention. It has been eight years since Turner resigned from the Commons, but he still has the silver hair, the blue eyes and the expensive charm that once marked him as the natural successor to Pierre Trudeau. "I have no magic wand—but I do make a pledge," the new candidate said. "I will make whatever sacrifices are necessary. I will devote myself to my country. I will not flinch from the tough decisions. You will know where I stand."

Formidable: With that vow Turner moved from a private life in corporate law in Toronto into the position of leading contender in a formidable field of rivals. Three cabinet members—Economic Development Minister Donald Johnston, Justice Minister Mark MacGuigan and Employment Minister John Roberts—had already declared their candidacy. At least two others—Energy Minister Jean Chrétien and Indian Affairs Minister John Munro—are expected to enter the contest this week. Eugene Whelan is one of the more popular cabinet ministers, but he has apparently decided not to run. Trudeau's former principal secretary, James Coutts, was also seriously considering joining the race in order to rally the party's left wing, while party President Iona Campagnolo is under pressure to change her decision not to run and become the western candidate. Her entry would drain a large bloc of votes from Turner, and she would probably run a strong second to him, displacing Chrétien.

Meanwhile, although Turner left Ottawa in 1976, his lingering reputation as the party's golden boy ensured a triumphal return to Ottawa—and envious scrutiny by his rivals. Before he had even declared his candidacy, six ministers had endorsed him and at least six more are expected to join his campaign. It was clear to his rivals that Turner was the man to beat. Before his announcement Roberts dismissed him as "yesterday's man," and Chrétien pointedly called for a leader "who reflects Main Street, not Bay Street." To combat those charges and to confront the new political world of 1984, Turner plans to direct his campaign at all voters—and not merely the 3,400 delegates to the mid-June leadership convention. Should he win, according to his closest advisers, Turner has a preliminary plan to call the next election in late September, rather than immediately following the convention, after he has had a chance to show the country that he can change the direction of the government. But first he will cast himself as a new man with new policies and a new team. Canadians, in turn, must measure the man against his myth. And they must decide if someone who left politics in 1976 can understand their needs and wants in 1984.

Maclean's has learned that the Turner campaign will start from the premise that the Conservatives' current 12-point lead in the polls is fragile. Turner organizers base that conclusion on poll data which apparently indicates that there is no "emotional bonding"—or closeness—between Tory Leader Brian Mulroney and Canadian voters. For almost two years former Tory pollster Allan Gregg has argued that Canadians want "a new man with a new plan—and the plan is just as important as the man." Turner supporters do not have access to Gregg's data, but they believe that Mulroney made a crucial mistake when he decided to postpone most major policy statements. They believe that, because of that omission, Mulroney forfeited his chance to command Canadian attention after winning the Tory leadership convention last June. And, as proof, they point to the fact that the Tory lead in the Gallup poll has already dropped from a staggering margin of 39 points last September to a 12-point difference currently. "There has been no sense of identification about where Mulroney wants to lead Canada, no articulation of vision," said a Turner adviser. "There is a lack of euphoria, a gap that we can fill."

Renewal: Armed with that analysis, Turner will try to shoulder Mulroney aside and forge that vital link with all Canadians during the leadership campaign while distancing himself from the government of Trudeau. According to his aides, over the next three months Turner will talk repeatedly about renewal and reform. He will insist that government can become responsible again and that public morality can be restored. He will point out that during his tenure as justice minister from 1968 to 1972 he scrapped the pork-barrel tradition and appointed judges who belonged to all political parties. The implied contrast to Mulroney is clear because the Tory leader has promised Conservatives plum patronage jobs if he becomes prime minister. The Turner strategy will paint Mulroney as an old-style politician who cannot hear the country's cry for real reform. Turner was quick to stake out that "high road" in a statement at last week's news conference. "Public service is a high calling," he said. "Politics is an honorable career. It is a way I can give back to my country a small measure of what it has given me."

That appeal for new approaches and reform, which so far has not been backed up with substantive policy positions, seems somewhat jarring coming from a man who first entered politics in 1962 and who was once a key member of the party's establishment. Born in England on June 7, 1929, Turner was raised for a career of importance by an ambitious widowed mother who held important bureaucratic posts in the wartime government of Mackenzie King. By the time she married powerful Vancouver industrialist Frank Ross in 1945, her son had absorbed "a real sense of the excitement of the public service." Turner studied political science at the



BRIAN WILLER/MACLEAN'S

Turner announcing his candidacy; his Forest Hill home in Toronto: the early favorite for the prime minister's job



PAUL CHIASSON

Chrétien: e campaign aimed past convention delegates to Canadien voters

COVER

University of British Columbia, won a Rhodes scholarship in 1949 to study jurisprudence and civil law at Oxford, polished his French in Paris for a year and then returned to Canada to complete his law studies. In 1958, when he was a rising Montreal attorney, he danced with Princess Margaret at a party given in her honor by Frank Ross, touching off transatlantic rumors of romance, and first planted the Turner myth in the public mind.

Invested with that glamor, Turner easily won a Commons seat in 1962 and in 1965 he entered cabinet. Three years later his ambitions were thwarted when he finished a distant third on the final ballot at the leadership convention that elected Trudeau. The new Prime Minister gave him the posts of solicitor general, justice minister and finally the prestigious but politically dangerous finance portfolio in 1972. When he resigned abruptly from the cabinet in September, 1975, he was at the peak of his power—the darling of the business community and the favorite of party workers and back-benchers. Nine years later that record and that resignation—and his subsequent law career—are all leadership campaign issues. And they provide substantial fodder for both his supporters and his detractors.

In Turner's favor, the years of politicking have fostered both the reputation of the perfect politician and a network of supporters which has remained loyal to the man and that myth during his years of corporate exile. The origins of the Turner group go back to 1968, when the 195 supporters who stuck with him during the final leadership ballot became known as the 195 Club. That group includes such loyalists as Small Business Minister David Smith. Still, those Liberals are merely a few of the political supporters who have been drawn into Turner's network. The candidate has kept the loyalty of his followers because he continued to stay in touch with them throughout his busy Toronto law career. Former Montreal city councillor Sid Stevens first met Turner during the 1960s and he has remained a friend and supporter for more than two decades. When Stevens lost his council seat in 1982, the first letter of condolence that he received was from Turner. Early last month, shortly before Trudeau resigned, Stevens received a friendly note that ended with the request, "Keep the faith." Throughout the years Turner "has made such a point of keeping up with everything going on here," Stevens said. As a result, Stevens is ready to go back on the campaign trail for his friend. As he put it, "There is nothing I would not do for this man."

Favorite: Turner's network did not begin to organize or take visible shape until two weeks ago, when such key supporters as Montreal political analyst John deB. Payne and Vancouver lawyer John Swift set up temporary headquarters in Toronto's Royal York Hotel. Despite that standing start, long after some of the other contenders had assembled their teams, Turner is ahead—or tied with the local favorite—in almost every region of the country. The reason delegates are moving voluntarily to Turner and swamping supporters with offers of help. Declared Norman MacLeod, a former Liberal party president and longtime Turner backer: "I personally got more than 100 calls from people wanting to volunteer."

Turner is strongest in British Columbia, Quebec and Ontario. In urban Quebec he has the support of such rising MPs as Quebec City's Dennis Dawson and Montreal's Pierre Deniger. His cabinet backing includes such veterans as Labour Minister André Ouellet (the key party organizer in the province) and Communications Minister Francis Fox. Quebec MP Roland Comtois says that Turner supporters are now organizing in 60 of Quebec's 75 ridings and that the move to Turner in some rural ridings has undermined the import of the local MPs who are backing Chrétien. "The grassroots are overwhelmingly in favor of Turner," Comtois insisted. He added that more than two-thirds of the potential delegates from Quebec are already Turner supporters.



PETER WITTY ROSETANI

Roberts: e belief that Mulroney and the Tories have missed their chance

That pattern has been repeated across the country. Ontario MP Douglas Frith was certain last year that he was going to lose his Sudbury seat because of the unpopularity of the Liberal party. Now, he says, with Turner as leader he will probably win. Most of his riding executive members agree, Frith added. Such key Ontario cabinet ministers as Treasury Board President Herb Gray, External Relations Minister Jean-Luc Pepin, Industry Minister Ed Lumley, Minister of State for finance Roy MacLaren and Small Business Minister Smith are also in the Turner camp. In British Columbia he will probably have the backing of such powerful party figures as the social development minister, Senator Jack Austin.

Turner is weak in the Maritimes and on the Prairies but he has some formidable backing in those regions as well. His former aide, Transport Minister Lloyd Axworthy, will likely join the Turner camp this week as an informal western lieutenant and a key policy consultant. As one of the two Liberal MPs west of the Ontario-Manitoba border, Axworthy commands strong western support. In Nova Scotia, where a populist like Chrétien attracts local affection and some loyalty, Turner will probably have the backing of International Trade Minister Gerald Regan and former party president Senator Al Graham. "There is no organization, but the grassroots think he can win," insisted a key Nova Scotia backer. "I would say Turner is ahead before he even begins."

Liabilities: Such early support does not mean that Turner has already won the race. He has not yet enunciated his policies and he has some major liabilities to overcome. As well, he must assuage the natural suspicions of such key groups as young people, who simply do not know him, and women, some of whom are concerned that his hearty jock image conceals a politician who does not understand their concerns. Under the party's constitution, almost half of the 3,400 delegates must be women and youth. Turner must gain their support to win. But the party's influential women's commission has already urged its members to stay neutral so that women can go into the convention as a powerful voting bloc. Candidates will be asked to explain their approach to feminist issues and outline how they would involve more women in the political process. Commission president Lauris Talmey says: "In feminist circles I do not see any great surge toward him [Turner]. I have a good feeling about him, but not any sense that he is a great feminist." Turner is aware of that criticism and he quickly made a peace offering to the increasingly activist women voters of 1984. Last week he promised women a major role in the party and the government, leaving specific details until later.

Whelan, may not run



CHRIS SCHWARZ

Neutral: In contrast to the women's decision to stay neutral, the youth commission has tried to place members in important roles on every candidate's campaign team. Youth commission president Bruce Ogilvie, a supporter of Employment Minister Roberts, said that young people have not jumped on the Turner campaign bandwagon because they want to know more about the candidate and his policies. "He is going to have his work cut out for him," he said. The candidate is clearly aware that younger people are not as impressed by his charm and his past credentials as their elders. Last week he promised to make youth unemployment his "highest priority." Then, in a rare burst of passion, he added: "I want our youth to dream, as my generation could dream, of a bright and satisfying future in a rich and wonderful land. The country can no longer tolerate a condition whereby the finishing of an education is a ticket to despair. Canada must become a learning and earning society again."

As well as winning over women and youth, Turner must also deal with the advantages and disadvantages of his corporate law career. For eight years at McMillan, Binch in Toronto, Turner has moved among the "big hitters" of international politics and finance. When he went to Australia on behalf of a client, he visited then-Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser. And he has kept up close friendships for more than 10 years with George Shultz, the U.S. secretary of state, and former West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt. Turner's law partner, William Macdonald, recalled that Shultz once remarked over poolside drinks, "I cannot believe that a man of his quality [Turner], with so much to offer, is staying out of public life." Schmidt, in turn, recently visited Turner at his house in Toronto's fashionable Forest Hill. And ever since he left politics Turner has carved out a powerful corporate profile. He is a director of 10 companies, including such prestigious firms as Bechtel Canada Ltd., a firm whose U.S. parent Shultz headed until joining Ronald Reagan's administration in 1982, and The Seagram Co. Ltd. He devotes at least a third of his time to those companies.



PHOTO NATIONAL

Turner with Trudeau in 1972, an abrupt resignation

Turner's most persistent political liability is that Liberals do not like quitters—and some of them say that the former finance minister quit when the economic going got tough in 1975. Although some Turner supporters claim that he left because he could not agree with the Trudeau government's free-

spending economic policies, it appears that Turner departed after a classic confrontation with the aloof Prime Minister.

Pitfalls: To sidestep those pitfalls Turner and his strategists are devising a campaign tied to the current public fascination for hazily defined "new politics." In the United States, Colorado Senator Gary Hart has used that theme with devastating effectiveness as to move his underdog campaign into a close race with established candidate Walter Mondale for the Democratic presidential nomination. Over the next few months Turner backers hope that prominent Canadians from all sectors and all regions will be attracted to run on the Turner team as "New Liberals." As Turner put it last week: "I want to restore the party's national base, not by diluting its present support but by attracting a strong representation from the West and the Atlantic. I have accepted a challenge. I now will challenge others." At the same time, Turner has tried to fill his strategy group with Liberals who are not from the party establishment. Such veterans as former party president MacLeod and Senator Jerry Grafstein will be consulted frequently—but they will not have highly visible roles. So far, there has been surprisingly little bitterness about a policy that will give relatively junior cabinet members more prominence than veterans. Possible supporters such as Consumer Minister Judy Erola will likely play a far larger public role than Quebec's Ouellet.

In addition to the new faces, Turner will be preoccupied over the next few weeks with a search for new policies. That will be a crucial task because it was clear last week that Turner is not yet well prepared to state a stand on many major issues—from tax policy to constitutional reform. Organizers say that he will spend much of his time on the telephone this week, sampling the views of party members and business and labor representatives alike. His organizers insist that, despite his right-wing reputation, he is going to forge a traditional Liberal coalition. They note that Turner has clearly identified unemployment as his highest priority, but he may have difficulty concealing his basic economic conservatism. During last week's press conference he was at his most passionate when denouncing Canada's current deficit of $30 billion. "We are going further and further into debt," he proclaimed in a statement that drifted dangerously close to direct criticism of the Trudeau government. Said Turner: "We are really placing a load, a burden, on the next generation, on our children, which will severely limit that generation's ability to flourish in this country." Then he pledged that he will fight the deficit through spending restraint. And "we are going to have to look at taxation," he added. But that hint of tax increases was coupled with a promise that the deficit will not be fought "on the backs of the unemployed, the aged, the poor or the sick." What he did not make clear was exactly who would pay for changes he advocated.



Turner with his wife, Geills: promising a major role in the party for women

Although it is difficult to determine what Turner's other policies are, he did provide some clues about his general approach to social and business issues. While discussing unemployment he emphasized job retraining and the need to ensure a better climate for investment "so that capital markets will have confidence in investing." And supporters say that he will not tamper with such current universal social programs as family allowances, although he is unlikely to introduce any large, new, across-the-board social programs. He is also likely to dismantle, or severely curtail, the Canada Development Investment Corp., a huge Crown corporation that oversees such money-losing Crown corporations as Canadair. "His intention is to squarely address the issues progressively over the campaign," said organizer Swift. "It is just that he is now in a consulting process as opposed to a telling process."

Turner is well aware that if he does not produce solid policy options soon, he may become the Canadian Mondale instead of the Hart of the Liberal leadership race. Such rival candidates as Johnston, Roberts and MacGuigan have prepared well-defined new policy alternatives. The most likely dark horse in the race is Johnston. He is a fiscal conservative who is calling for new policies to meet the challenge of new technologies, for party and government reform and for external affairs initiatives to keep up Trudeau's campaign for international peace. Last week Turner also shrewdly pledged to "continue that thrust" for peace.

Spotlight: If Turner does win the leadership, he even has a preliminary strategy to maintain momentum, keep the spotlight off Mulroney and win the next election. Because he does not want to assume the role of prime minister when the Commons is in session, he will probably ask Trudeau to remain in that job until Parliament recesses on June 29. Turner would then be sworn in as prime minister in early July and spend the next two months recruiting top talent to his government and his cabinet. Most of the new ministers will not be MPs and, if Turner's appeal for new faces works, they will come from outside the party's current pool of talent. Although the Commons will resume sitting on Sept. 10, Pope John Paul II starts a 10-day visit to Canada a day earlier. That means Turner would likely delay his election call until immediately after the Pope's departure on Sept. 20. Although some supporters are urging him to run in British Columbia, it is more likely that Pepin will resign his Ottawa-Carleton seat—a riding that Turner held from 1968 until his resignation—to make room for him. That scenario is, of course, subject to the Liberal delegates, the vagaries of fortune and poll readings on the electorate's mood. But Turner has entered this race with all the advantages the convention and perhaps even the election are his to lose.

With Anthony Wilson-Smith in Montreal, Carol Goar in Ottawa, Robert Block in Toronto and Jane O'Hara in Vancouver

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A strong contender enters the field



MacGuigen in Edmonton, a countrywide search for an alternative to Turner

By Carol Goar

John Turner's impressive entry into the Liberal leadership race last week, trailing endorsements from nine cabinet ministers, was an intimidating challenge to his rivals for the prime minister's job. While the Turner forces were assembling, Energy Minister Jean Chrétien—widely believed to be Turner's strongest opponent—spent two difficult weeks trying to decide whether he should run in the face of weakening support. Finally, despite the long odds, Chrétien decided to fight for the leadership rather than spend the rest of his life wondering if he could have won. At the same time, Liberal party president Iona Campagnolo rebuffed pressures to run as an attractive western candidate. With those two decisions made, the leadership contest quickly developed into a two-tier race. Turner and the rest of the pack. As one disappointed Liberal put it, "I guess it is time to stop dreaming of a fresh face—there is not going to be one."

With Chrétien's declaration expected Tuesday, the major candidates are now known. Employment Minister John Roberts and Justice Minister Mark MacGuigan jumped into the race last week. Like Economic Development Minister Donald Johnston, the first to enter the race, they hoped to seize public attention before the Turner bandwagon started rolling. Indian Affairs Minister John Munro will likely announce his candidacy this week. And James Coutts, the former principal secretary to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, has apparently decided to enter the contest.

Campagnolo: resisting pressure to run



PAUL CHIASSON

Coutts, who was attending a Liberal youth convention in St. John's on the weekend, said that he still had to make up his mind, but his campaign organizers said he would be ready to go this week. Still, it was Chrétien's dwindling strength and the surge of support for Campagnolo that caught Liberals' attention.

Juggernaut: The call for Campagnolo gained momentum as Liberals in riding offices across the country continued to look for a candidate who could slow what they termed "the Turner juggernaut." But Campagnolo was not swept away by the sudden support. "I am sure it will evaporate in a couple of days," said the 51-year-old former sport minister who was still clearly pleased by the move to persuade her to run. "It is the nearest thing to a draft I have ever seen," she declared. The no-nonsense Campagnolo, who as party president is responsible for organizing the leadership convention and would have to resign her $60,000-a-year job to become a candidate, moved quickly to stop the draft-Iona movement. "No good politician ever says an absolute never about anything," said Campagnolo, "but, for goodness' sake, there comes a limit."

Still, a Campagnolo candidacy continues to tantalize her supporters. Alberta Liberal Leader Nick Taylor said that he could quickly raise as much as $2 million if she decided to run. And Maritime and Alberta party organizers told *Maclean's* last week that in their regions Campagnolo would enter the race in second place behind Turner. In British Columbia, Campagnolo's home province, one party official bluntly declared, "She is the one who can beat him." But the same official admitted that the president had made it clear that she would not try to become Canada's first female prime minister.

For his part, Chrétien watched provincial support slip away. One Liberal MP, who insisted on anonymity, said that he had misled the energy minister. "I said, 'Sure, I am with you, Jean,'" said the MP, "but I am not." And one of Chrétien's chief parliamentary organizers, Northern Ontario MP Keith Penner, admitted that the 50-year-old Chrétien was "very concerned about the erosion in the support he thought he had." That much was evident from Chrétien's behavior in Parliament. Normally the gregarious energy minister moves easily around the House, chatting with members of all parties. But last week Chrétien spent much of his time talking to campaign supporters in his office. When he did enter the Commons he remained in his seat, saying little and staring down at his desk.

At one point last week Chrétien told Penner, Sault Ste. Marie MP Ron Irwin and Toronto MP Aideen Nicholson that he knew his candidacy would be an uphill fight but that he could not give up the chance of a lifetime. Said Penner: "It would take something very drastic to stop him now." Chrétien's greatest disappointment has come from Quebec. He is now counting on fewer than 30 firm backers there, compared to 35 at the beginning of the month.

Quebec Liberals say that Chrétien's weakness in his home province is not surprising. They contend that if Quebec now balks at the Liberal tradition of alternating between a French- and English-speaking leader, English Canada will feel free to abandon the practice permanently and forever deny French Canada a chance at the nation's top job. Some also object to Chrétien's self-promotion as a "little guy from Shawinigan." They say that the image is demeaning to the province. As well, many rising Liberals in Quebec want to concede the race to Turner and prepare for the next one. "I might [be a leadership candidate] in due time, but due time may mean years," declared Yvon Pinard, the party's Privy Council president, who is only 43.

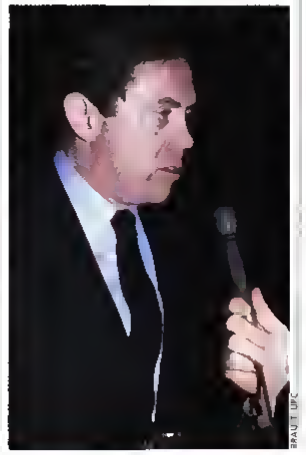
Unstable: The "Turner factor" was also clearly on the minds of two other leadership candidates. "Some say my announcement may scare Turner off," said a smiling MacGuigan when he announced his candidacy in Edmonton. Roberts, for his part, declared: "I am not trying to beat anyone. I am trying to make sure my ideas are given a chance." Roberts, who terms himself a "centre, centre-left" candidate, geared his message to women, the young and the ethnic minorities, claiming those groups as his natural constituency. Said Roberts: "Our society is unstable, challenged in an unprecedented way by the substance and pace of technological change—our times call for a new Liberalism." He went on to advocate strict spending limits on the leadership campaign, urging convention organizers to set "a low figure—under $500,000," as the ceiling. As one party colleague put it, "John must be having trouble raising money." Party insiders say that Roberts has pockets of support in Central Canada but is weak in the Maritimes and Western Canada.

In fact, Western Canada remains a puzzle to all Liberal leadership hopefuls. Several veteran party members, including former transport minister Otto Lang in Winnipeg, Saskatchewan Liberal Leader Ralph Goodale, and former B.C. Liberal leader Gordon Gibson, are trying to gather western Liberals—25 per cent of the 3,490 delegates—into an uncommitted voting bloc. But many party members dismiss the idea. "It [the bloc] is going to completely fracture the moment they get to the convention—provided it has not already," said one West Coast Liberal. Still, a party holding only two seats west of Ontario will have to find a way to address western needs. "We cannot continue as a party that does not represent a key part of the country," declared MacGuigan when he pointedly launched his campaign in Alberta.



Former Trudeau aide Coutts: an apparent decision to enter the contest

Johnston: a bid for public attention



PAUL LIPIC

The candidates will get the chance to address that issue and others when they meet at Toronto's Harbour Castle Hotel Saturday for a three-hour all-candidates debate. That meeting will be the first of several weekend policy sessions tentatively scheduled to be held in Vancouver, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, Montreal and Halifax, with a repeat performance in Toronto. And in April the 282 riding associations will start selecting the seven delegates each will send to the convention. As a result, with five cabinet ministers likely to be in the race tied to their Ottawa duties during the week, the leadership campaign will intensify on weekends. And on weekdays the cabinet contenders will be spending much of their time phoning across the country in search of support. MacGuigan is now spending three hours a day on the phone and plans to increase that to eight hours late in the campaign.

Steamy: In just over three months the country's attention will be on the same steamy Ottawa hockey arena where the Conservatives chose Brian Mulroney to lead their party last June. The major candidates are all Central Canadians. All of them sit around Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's cabinet table except for one, who ended a long absence from politics to return as an overwhelming early favorite. The others face a formidable task: they must eclipse John Turner or realign themselves to living in his shadow.

With Jane O'Hara in Vancouver, Andrew Nikiforuk in Winnipeg, Robert Block in Toronto and Margaret Polanyi and Mary Janigan in Ottawa.

Geills Turner: a very private person

It was June, 1962, and blonde, 24-year-old Geills Kilgour had just finished a sales training course at IBM in New York when friends in Montreal persuaded her to work in the federal election campaign of a young lawyer named John Turner. Less than a year later John and Geills Turner were married and vacationing in Bermuda.

Today the athletic, highly intelligent and strong-willed Geills, 46, treasures her privacy and is known to have argued against her husband's return to the highly public political arena. If her husband becomes the next Liberal party leader—and prime minister—she would likely stay in the background while making her views felt in private. She is, according to a friend who knew her in both Ottawa and Toronto, "a good reader of people, very perceptive and nimble-witted." Another acquaintance says that the Turners "are a robust couple. There will be differences."

Analyst: A native of Winnipeg, Geills—usually pronounced "Jill"—is the daughter of the late David E. Kilgour, chief executive officer from 1955 to 1971 of the Great-West Life Assurance Co., and Mary Sophia Russell. David Kilgour, the Conservative MP for Edmonton-Strathcona, is her brother. A mathematics and physics graduate from Montreal's McGill University, Geills did postgraduate studies in business administration at Harvard University before going to work as a financial analyst in Montreal—a career that she abandoned at the time of her marriage.

In Ottawa, where her husband soon became a minister in Lester Pearson's cabinet, she was known as a stylish hostess who, as a friend recalled, "entertained in an old-fashioned way." The four Turner children began arriving in rapid succession, and Geills was pregnant with son David when she helped her husband in his first run at the Liberal leadership. Some aspects of her husband's political life were clearly exasperating to her. On the one hand, as Geills told a reporter at the time, she did not "mind being alone a lot. I understood the demands of politics before John and I married." But she objected to the lack of privacy. "There never seems to be a sacred moment," she said "Not on holiday, not in the middle of the night, not even Sunday morning."



Geills Turner (right) with her husband, sons (from left) Michael, David and James Andrew and daughter, Elizabeth 'never a sacred moment'

Although she shuns publicity and avoids the media—she has not given an interview since 1968—Geills Turner is neither shy nor withdrawn in private. She is, said an Ottawa friend, a "very determined woman with a first-rate brain. She demands high standards of herself and of others. And she fights for what she believes." Geills' sole venture into public controversy took place in 1973, when Air Canada was planning an experimental commuter service from an old military airport near the elegant Rockcliffe section of Ottawa where the Turners lived. Geills berated the then-deputy minister of transport, Gerald Stoner, and made representations to the area MP—John Turner. The air service came into being, but it was discontinued after two years.

An enthusiastic tennis player, Geills plays often during family vacations, which have been divided between the Turner family cottage at St. Andrews, N.B., and the Kilgour summer home near Kenora, Ont. After the family moved from Ottawa to Toronto when Turner resigned in 1976, Geills developed a passion for photography and took a four-year course to study technique at Ryerson Polytechnical Institute. Now she takes her camera along whenever the Turner family flies into a remote northern area to canoe and camp on a summer holiday.

Restless: At home Geills is a combination of a contemporary woman who is widely read and intellectually restless and an old-fashioned political wife who keeps a low public profile and provides an oasis of domestic calm for her family. Daughter Elizabeth, 20, is a student at California's Stanford University, and sons James Andrew, 12, David, 15, and Michael, 18, are students at Toronto's establishment Upper Canada College. They still live at home. In the wider circles of business and politics the tough-minded and sometimes sharp-tongued Geills is not always popular. "She treats people naturally," said an acquaintance, "and if she is attacked, she will respond." Witty, outspoken and sometimes tempestuous, opinionated but profoundly private, Geills Turner could well add an element of mystery to the new era in Canadian politics that her husband hopes to usher in.

—TERRY HARGREAVES *in Toronto*



Turner in his law office: returning to public life means surrendering privacy

Turner on John Turner

The day after John Turner entered the Liberal leadership race, Ottawa Bureau Chief Carol Goar talked to him in an exclusive interview for Maclean's. *Turner, dressed in grey flannel trousers, a beige cardigan and slippers, relaxed in the sunlit den of his home in Toronto's exclusive Forest Hill district as he talked about his decision to re-enter politics and its likely effects on his wife and four children.*

Maclean's *What thoughts went through your mind when you woke up this morning, knowing you had committed yourself to running for the Liberal leadership?*

Turner: I knew that the rhythm of my life was now beyond my control, and that its direction would be controlled by people and events and not by me alone. There is a surrender of privacy and a surrender of relative anonymity, a surrender of control over time that I suppose is the paramount sacrifice of public life.

Maclean's: *What made you decide that this is the right time to return to public life when 1979 was not?*

Turner: In 1979 I did not think it was appropriate because of family and business commitments. I had retired from public life less than four years earlier in order to spend more time with my family. I had not had time to repair my financial position and I thought I would be prematurely terminating my commitments to my law firm and my partners. And—to use [Pierre Trudeau's] famous words—I suppose the universe was not unfolding [as it should].

Maclean's: *Can we run through the 10 days between Prime Minister Trudeau's resignation and your decision to re-enter public life?*

Turner: First, I had to come to terms with myself, and then my wife and I had to come to terms with each other. Then I discussed it with all our four children and then I talked to some of my partners and then some of my major clients and some of my close friends and then sought the reaction of members of the Liberal party across the country.

Maclean's: *Will your wife, Geills, campaign with you?*

Turner: My wife is her own woman. She has her ways of fulfilment, she has her own priorities. She is no appendage of her husband. My new public role will make it more difficult for her in achieving what she believes a woman should achieve. On the other hand, she is encouraging me to do what I am doing, and when we feel it appropriate she will be there. But she will not always be there.

Maclean's: *For eight years you have had the luxury of privacy. How hard will it be to live in the public eye again? And what will it mean in everyday terms for your wife and four children?*

Turner: Well, in my own personal terms I like people and I think I have been able to mix easily with people. But there will be some self-discipline and patience required because in public life everyone is your client and everyone is part of your constituency. For my children, I worry about exposure on their young lives and hope that each of them will be strong enough to withstand it and determine his or her priorities, as can anyone else their age.

Maclean's: *Would all of them come to Ottawa if you win the leadership?*

Turner: We have not really decided. Two of them [Elizabeth, 20, and Michael, 18] are of university age, and we will have to try and reconcile the priorities of the younger two [David, 15, and James Andrew, 12] in further conversations with them.

Maclean's: *Have you always wanted to be prime minister?*

Turner: I can't say that when I was a boy I was like John Diefenbaker and always wanted to be prime minister. But I was brought up by my mother to believe that public life, politics, was a high and noble calling, and that one had a duty if the opportunity arose to repay what one had been given by providence and good fortune. That ethic is a strong one in my being.

Maclean's: *What about fundamental political convictions, such as Prime Minister Trudeau's firm belief that a Canadian should be able to feel at home speaking either English or French in every part of the country?*

Turner: I'm less of a Cartesian than Trudeau and I find Canada far more of a flexible, consensual concept.

Maclean's: *An opponent such as Jean Chrétien or Brian Mulroney might say of you, John Turner is a man from a privileged world who cannot understand the problems of the little guy in Shawinigan or Baie Comeau—is that fair?*

Turner: I do not think so. I have probably had the widest mixture of public and private life of anyone in the country. I've been on every main street, not only in the cities, but in the towns. I think the range of personal experience I have had is wider than those gentlemen might give me credit for.

Five key players on the campaign team





PAUL CHIASSON

Swift (above) in his Vancouver office, Peterson and Baxter (right) the nucleus of organizers and advisers

In order to create suspense in the weeks before he announced his leadership intentions, John Turner was careful, almost up to the last minute, to avoid giving any indication that he was building a campaign team. As a result, by last week only an inner nucleus of organisers and advisers had been picked for the team that will gain strength and numbers in the weeks ahead. Among the key players:

Heather Peterson: As national director of Turner's leadership campaign, the attractive and outgoing Peterson brings energy, brains and an extensive network of Liberal party connections to the Turner cause. A native of London, Ont., and an honors graduate in history from the University of Western Ontario, Peterson, 42, learned constituency politics as a volunteer for her husband, Liberal MP James Peterson, first during his unsuccessful bid for a seat in 1979 and in the federal election a year later when Peterson won Toronto's Willowdale riding. A sister-in-law of Ontario Liberal Leader David Peterson, she served as the party's Ontario campaign vice-chairman in the 1979 federal election and went on to become party liaison officer in the Prime Minister's Office in Ottawa. Politics are not the Petersons' only passion: in 1974, because of their love of ballet, Heather and James helped Soviet dancer Mikhail Baryshnikov defect in Toronto. Peterson hopes Turner's campaign will attract "a large and efficient team of volunteers. But we are just beginning and we have a lot of catching up to do."

John Swift: A 35-year-old Vancouver lawyer who served as Turner's executive assistant between 1973 and 1975 and has helped build support on the West Coast, Swift is expected to serve as a campaign organizer and convention strategist in Turner's drive for the leadership. As a University of British Columbia law student in 1973, Swift first met Turner after he won a grant from a foundation that Turner worked for. Soft-spoken but persuasive, Swift has been a Turner insider ever since. Married with two children, Swift is president of the Liberal riding association in Vancouver Quadra, in which, it has been speculated, Turner might run. So far, he says, the Turner organization has been "a group of five or 10 people without titles. But now it's really going to take off."

Bill Lee: The well-connected head of an Ottawa consulting firm, Executive Consultants, Lee is expected to play a key role as one of Turner's personal advisers and strategy planners during the campaign. An astute and highly experienced political organizer—the late Liberal cabinet minister Judy LaMarsh called him "the best of the backroom boys"—Lee ran former defence minister Paul Hellyer's campaign for the Liberal leadership in 1968 and, when Pierre Trudeau won out instead, landed on his feet as organizer of the new Prime Minister's first national tour. Tough-minded and self-assured, Lee in recent years has become a close friend and adviser to Turner, who calls him at least once a week.

Dennis Baxter: A veteran radio and television reporter, Baxter, 44, resigned from the CBC to become Turner's communications director a week before his new boss officially entered the leadership race. Born in Ottawa, Baxter took degrees in commerce and political science from the University of Ottawa before joining the CBC in 1964. He was the CBC's Moscow correspondent from 1977 to 1980 and he helped cover the 1980 Moscow Olympics. Married with two sons, Baxter has an expert knowledge of the electronic media and a thorough grasp of federal politics. Turner's campaign, says Baxter, will go "flat out, at 100 m.p.h. Turner is taking nothing for granted, wants nothing left to chance."

John deB. Payne: A Montreal consultant and political analyst, longtime Quebec Liberal insider and Turner confidant, deB. (for deBurgh) Payne worked for the CBC's English-language newsroom in Montreal and supervised the network's coverage at the United Nations in the 1940s. Loaned out by the CBC as a consultant, he served with the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization and later was an executive assistant to Prime Minister Lester Pearson. From 1958 to 1972 he was a member of the Liberal party's national executive and chairman of its communications committee. Payne left the executive in 1972 but he has never stopped waving the Turner banner. As a close friend and longtime Turner adviser, Payne is expected to play a major role in policy formulation in the coming months.

—ANN FINLAYSON *in Toronto*

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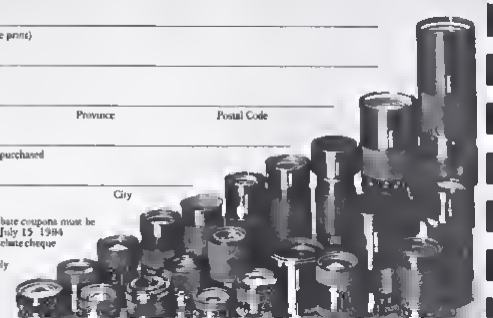
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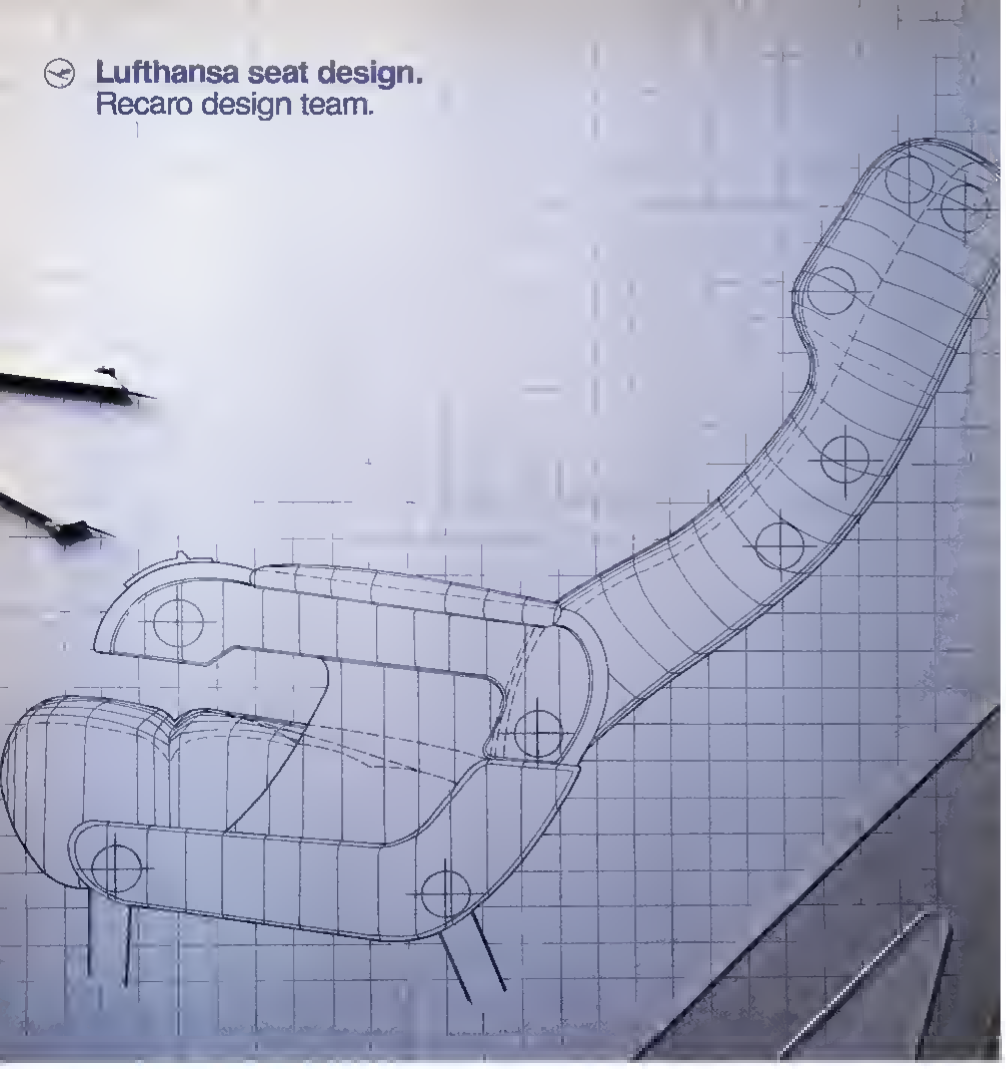
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The taxpayers' litany of complaints

After federal Revenue Minister Pierre Bussières refused to have a parliamentary committee investigate widespread complaints over Revenue Canada's methods of collecting taxes, Brian Mulroney's Opposition Conservatives decided in early February to hold their own public hearings. And last week a five-member Tory task force under Ontario MP Perrin Beatty entered its second week of hearings covering 23 Canadian cities. Small-businessmen, fishermen, farmers, professional people and other taxpayers issued a litany of complaints of unjust and uneven treatment from the federal tax authorities. At the same time, a new tax controversy developed as a result of Revenue Canada's treatment of Newfoundland fishermen in 1981-82. An internal department report written in 1982 but made public only last week warned Bussières that Revenue Canada lacked effective ministerial control and that its sweeping legal powers were a threat to taxpayers' civil rights.

Throughout Atlantic Canada complaints of unfair and inconsistent practices by Revenue Canada officials echoed those that the task force heard in Ontario earlier this month. Five Halifax taxi operators testified that Revenue Canada last year decided to enforce a rule—ignored since 1971—that taxi drivers be considered employees. "I feel I have been robbed," said fleet operator Gordon MacNeil. MacNeil said he had to borrow $7,000 and sell several cars to pay the $40,000 that he owed the revenue department. Denise Kingsley, president of Maritime Advertising Ltd., a small Halifax firm, told the group that last year, after she had tried five times to get a firm explanation of a Revenue Canada rule involving her employees' taxes, the tax department suddenly reversed its earlier position. In order to pay the $3,500 in back taxes that she owed, Kingsley said she had to lay off five of her 10 employees. "Because of that the company is teetering," she said.

A recurring complaint revolves around Revenue Canada's policy of demanding payment of tax assessments before they can be appealed. Indeed, in some cases the legal costs involved in appealing can be higher than a taxpayer's original tax bill. During hearings in Thunder Bay, Ont., Robert Bell, an electrical contractor, told the task force that he spent more than $100,000 in order to prove that he did not owe Revenue Canada $80,000, as the department claimed.

Last week Bussières faced opposition questions in Parliament about a report written by St. John's lawyer William Rowe. The document was critical of a widespread audit of the province's fishermen beginning three years ago—an investigation that led to numerous demands for unpaid taxes. Rowe, a former Newfoundland Liberal party leader, studied the audit and the department's legal powers for six months in 1982 at the request of William Rompkey, Bussières' predecessor as revenue minister. In his report—obtained by a Southam News Services reporter under the nine-month-old Freedom of Information Act—Rowe warned that "the wide, sweeping and virtually unlimited powers of enforcement and compliance under the [tax] act ... need to be overhauled." Rowe described the power that tax officials possess for getting information as "astounding in its breadth and contrary to all concepts of fundamental justice." In a related development, Newfoundland Fisheries Minister James Morgan charged that Revenue Canada audited him and later his wife after he complained about "the Gestapo-like tactics" the department used in its audit of the fishing industry.

More evidence of the difficulties fishermen have encountered with Revenue Canada turned up before the Tory task force when John Boland, business agent in Nova Scotia for the Fishermen, Food and Allied Workers Union, described reassessments in 1982 of several Nova Scotia scallop fishermen's taxes. Revenue Canada, he said, wanted quick payment of sums of up to $5,000 and "gave very little consideration to individual problems." In demanding postdated cheques from the fishermen, said Boland, the tax officials showed a lack of understanding of the unpredictable and seasonal nature of the fishing industry.

The Conservative task force will wind up its hearings March 29 after travelling across the country, and Beatty hopes to have a report written by April. After seven days of listening to taxpayers Beatty said last week that he is surprised at the strength of resentment and anger the task force has uncovered. "There is something else I have learned," he added. "Until now my wife has always completed my tax return form. But from now on I think I will have a professional do it. I do not want a single detail to be missed."

—MICHAEL CLUGSTON *in Halifax.*



VAN HORNE/CP

Beatty (left) with task force members' tales of unjust and uneven treatment

Manitoba's torrent of language litigation

When New Democratic Party Premier Howard Pawley adjourned the Manitoba legislature last month, he signalled that he was abandoning his controversial attempt to pass a law extending language rights to the province's francophones. Pawley's retreat—in the face of fierce opposition—on the proposed language law increased the flood of legal and constitutional challenges to the province's existing English-language legislation. Then, last week federal Justice Minister Mark MacGuigan said he would ask the cabinet to recommend that the Supreme Court of Canada rule on the validity of all of Manitoba's laws that have been enacted in English only since 1890. At the same time, the province's Opposition Conservative leader—who fought fiercely to defeat the proposed NDP legislation—feuded openly with federal Conservative Leader Brian Mulroney over his support for francophone rights in the province.

The differences over the issue between the federal and provincial Tories flared publicly when provincial party Leader Gary Filmon told reporters that some Tories in the province were tearing up their provincial party cards because of Mulroney's stand on the language issue. Filmon warned that the federal leader was "not helping either himself or the party in Manitoba by constantly keeping the issue in public view" and he suggested that Mulroney talk to ordinary Manitobans opposed to French-language rights. "He would get a closer feeling for what people are thinking," said Filmon. "We are not dealing with racists, bigots or rednecks, but people who are genuinely opposed to what was put forward by the government." Mulroney, who was to have attended a federal nomination meeting for deputy provincial Tory Leader Bud Sherman in Winnipeg last week, cancelled his plans after saying there was no room in the federal caucus for those who do not support his language rights stand.

Filmon also charged that the Trudeau government "wants to keep the pot boiling" on the Manitoba language issue in order to embarrass the federal Conservatives. For his part, Mulroney declared in Toronto that "there is no problem" with party unity in Manitoba and said that he simply had done his "duty as a national political leader in speaking up on the issue."

MacGuigan's proposal to have the Supreme Court of Canada rule on the question meant that the country's highest court might have to consider the issue twice. Winnipeg lawyer Roger Bilodeau—who set off the current dispute in 1981 when he challenged a traffic ticket issued in English only—is already asking the high court to decide on the validity of two provincial laws—the Highway Traffic Act and the Summary Conviction Act—that were enacted only in English. Another potentially important case before the Manitoba Court of



Filmon: a public feud, a party divided

Appeal in Winnipeg questions whether the existing right in Manitoba to a trial in French requires that judges be bilingual or non-French-speaking but aided by translators. Other cases before Manitoba's courts challenge a variety of offences, ranging from careless driving to speeding infractions, on the grounds that the summonses were issued in English only. "That's just the tip of the iceberg," said lawyer Alain Hogue, whose firm is handling a "couple of dozen" francophone rights cases. Said Winnipeg lawyer Remi Smith, a former vice-president of the province's Société Franco-Manitobaine: "Even the NDP government admits the number of cases is limited only by the human imagination. We're pushing in the range of 50 cases and just starting."

Even anglophones have entered the fray. Winnipegger Richard Snell wants to fight a speeding ticket with a trial in French—even though he only speaks English—to prove a point. His lawyer, Michel Monnin, admits that Snell would not understand "a hell of a lot of what's going on" but argues that the law should guarantee the accused a trial in the official language of his choice—"It's the law for all Manitobans."

At the heart of the legal issue is Section 23 of the 1870 Manitoba Act, which guaranteed the use of French and English in the courts, legislature and all the printed laws of the province. In 1890 the Manitoba government declared the province unilingual under a new Official Language Act. But in 1979 the Supreme Court ruled that the 1890 law was unconstitutional, raising serious questions about the legitimacy of 4,500 English-only laws passed in the interim.

The Manitoba government under former Tory premier Sterling Lyon attempted to overcome that threat by passing legislation that provided for the translation of some of the province's laws into French. But that limited solution did not prevent Bilodeau from taking the issue to the Supreme Court—a step he delayed only when Pawley's NDP government promised to introduce more comprehensive language rights legislation. When public demonstrations and stubborn opposition by the Tories forced Pawley to abandon the legislation, the province's francophones argued that they had no recourse but to take their fight to the courts. Said Winnipeg lawyer Monnin: "It is unfortunate but we are a minority, and thank God the courts are there."

MacGuigan's suggestion raises anew the prospect that thousands of provincial laws could be declared unconstitutional. If that happens, said Dale Gibson, a professor of constitutional law at the University of Manitoba, Parliament might have to pass an emergency act granting the province temporary authority to govern until the statutes could be validated. The provincial Conservatives, after defeating French-language rights in the legislature, now are counting on the Supreme Court to support their view that Section 23 does not mean provincial bilingualism. Said Filmon: "The Supreme Court is not in the business of creating anarchy."

—ANDREW NIKIFORUK
in Winnipeg

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A boycott to kill a seal hunt

Defying poor weather and growing international protests, scores of Magdalen Islanders set out for the ice packs as the annual seal hunt began last week in the Gulf of St Lawrence. But the hunters killed only 43 seals for food on the opening day of the hunt instead of the 4,000 animals routinely taken in other years. The reason: a 20-year campaign against the killing of pup seals has destroyed the market for the whitecoat furs. And now there are indications that even the greatly reduced hunt may soon be stopped. An international animal rights group is pressing for a boycott of Canadian fish products in the United States unless the federal government bans the killing of young seals completely. So far, Fisheries Minister Pierre De Bané has refused to give in to the protesters, but with $900 million in fish exports at stake, cabinet support for his stand is dwindling.

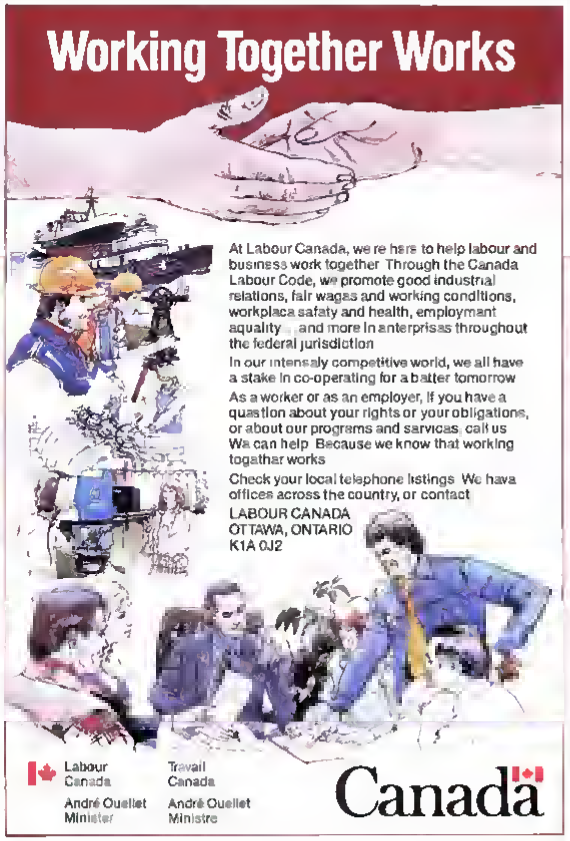
In the Commons Conservative MP Lloyd Crouse called for a ban on the killing of whitecoats to protect the crucial U.S. market—the largest importers of Canadian commercial fish. Even external affairs officials admit that ending the hunt would remove the embarrassment abroad. And at week's end De Bané found himself even more isolated in his defence of the hunt when Guelph, Ont., zoologist David Lavigne revealed that last year Newfoundland hunters killed 5,609 young harp seals, technically labelled as whitecoats by the government. De Bané quickly pointed out that the animals killed were not true whitecoats—seals less than 10 days old whose slaughter caused the widespread antisealing campaign—but animals from 10 to 24 days old. Said De Bané: "The confusion that has arisen about the hunt is based on misrepresentation of statistical reports." And he reiterated that the hunt for the whitecoats ended in 1982.

De Bané's statements failed to appease hunt opponents, who abhor the killing of all young seals. Lavigne, who has worked for animal rights groups and the federal fisheries ministry, estimated that the 1983 hunters killed 40,000 seals under one year of age. And the International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW), the Massachusetts-based group that is spearheading the fish boycott, continues to send protest cards with pictures of whitecoats to all major buyers of Canadian fish as part of its antisealing campaign. So far De Bané's reassurances that no whitecoats are being killed have been accepted by U.S. importers of Canadian fish, and they have said that they will not stop buying Canadian products.

But that is unlikely to stop the protesters. The IFAW has already been successful in persuading two large British grocery chains to stop buying Canadian fish, and the group is planning to ask 25 supermarket chains in the United States to stop buying Canadian fish until the killing of whitecoats stops. IFAW members may also ask American high school students to boycott Canadian fish products provided by their school lunch programs until the federal government bans the hunt. Said Donna Hart, an IFAW spokesman who is establishing a boycott headquarters near St. Louis, Mo.: "A boycott is a perfectly moral and legal way of obtaining a goal. I do not feel the least bit immoral about using a tool like that."

Canadian fishing companies and provincial fisheries ministers alike are sufficiently concerned about the IFAW threat that they have asked De Bané to reconsider his position on the hunt. In two recent telegrams to the minister, the Fisheries Association of British Columbia warned, "We can no longer support your position on the seal hunt." Earlier this month an angry mob destroyed an IFAW helicopter which had been monitoring the hunt and had landed on the Magdalen Islands to refuel. But that dramatic act will likely only cost the sealers even more support in the face of a growing threat to vital Canadian fish exports.

—MICHAEL CLUGSTON in Halifax



Honoring an old campaigner

After serving for nearly four decades as a member of Parliament, New Democrat Stanley Knowles has come to be known as the "conscience of the House of Commons." The 75-year-old MP is famous both as a dogged campaigner on behalf of the elderly, the poor and the unemployed and for his encyclopedic knowledge of parliamentary rules. During his long career Knowles three times rejected moves to make him Speaker of the Commons and he contemptuously dismissed offers of a Senate seat. After suffering a stroke in 1981, Knowles announced that he would not run in the next election. But Knowles will always have a job in the Commons. Last week Parliament, at the request of Prime Minister Trudeau, unanimously made the former United Church minister an honorary officer of the House with a seat permanently available for him at the Clerk's table. Obviously moved by the gesture, Knowles violated the Commons' rules, which forbid MPs from using names in the chamber (the "Honorable Member" or "Right Honorable Member" are the terms used), by calling Trudeau by name. "Pierre, Pierre," said Knowles, "I want to thank you so much. You have given me a chance to live."



Knowles: providing a parmanent seat

Born in Los Angeles of Canadian parents, Knowles moved to Canada when he was 16 and obtained a divinity degree at Manitoba's Brandon College, where T.C. (Tommy) Douglas, the future premier of Saskatchewan and later national leader of the NDP, was also a student. In 1942 Knowles won the riding of Winnipeg North Centre for the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, the forerunner of the NDP, and he has held the seat in all but one election—the 1958 Diefenbaker sweep. In Parliament Knowles's persistent efforts helped to bring about improved old age pensions. "I have tried to make life a little easier for older people than it used to be," said Knowles last week. "That has been the thing that I worked hardest on and that I am most pleased about."

The position of honorary officer of the Commons has been awarded in Canada to retiring Clerks of the House—but never to a sitting member of Parliament. And Knowles clearly intends to continue to be useful when Parliament resumes after the next election. "Even if I cannot stand up and make speeches in Parliament, I can sit there and listen to the MPs and know what they are doing," said Knowles. "I hope that by talking to people, I can make them work harder still." He has already set the standard.

—PATRICIA HLUCHY in Toronto.





WORLD

Super Tuesday: a classic race

By Michael Posner

The crowd was large, and the candidate was jubilant. The race for the 1984 Democratic presidential nomination, former vice-president Walter Mondale said, would be determined by one question. Then a well-lubricated voice from the floor of his Super Tuesday victory celebration shouted, "Where's the beef?" That was not the question that Mondale had in mind (he had planned to say that the central question is "Which contender would make the best president?"), but he was not prepared to overrule a supporter. Indeed, that line, borrowed from a widely viewed television commercial for the Wendy's hamburger chain, last week rescued Mondale's candidacy from imminent collapse. Repeated at rallies from Alabama to Michigan, Mondale used the "Where's the beef?" refrain to dismiss Senator Gary Hart's "new ideas" campaign as style without substance.

The strategy worked. Desperately needing to halt Hart's momentum, Mondale won two of Super Tuesday's three southern primaries—Georgia and Alabama. By week's end, he had added important victories in precinct caucuses in Delaware, Michigan and Arkansas. As the candidates charged toward the critical March 20 primary in Illinois, the Democratic contest became an epic struggle that many political experts declared might not be resolved until the July nominating convention in San Francisco. Said Washington labor consultant Victor Kamber: "Six weeks ago I would have bet anything, even my house, on Walter Mondale. Now, I wouldn't bet a nickel—on anyone."

'Six weeks ago,' said one analyst, 'I would have bet on Mondale. Now I wouldn't bet a nickel on anyone'

Despite Mondale's success last week, it was clear that he had only slowed—not halted—Hart's momentum. The Colorado senator won three primaries on Super Tuesday, in Florida, Rhode Island and Massachusetts, came close to upsetting Mondale in Georgia—the winning margin was four percentage points—and captured state caucuses in Washington, Nevada, Oklahoma and Alaska. Hart won support across the political and demographic spectrums, as he had done earlier in New England. And by winning in the South and West, he demonstrated for the first time his campaign's national appeal. Hart predicted that he would own a majority of convention delegates before July.

But last week's results also proved decisive for two other presidential hopefuls. Former senator George McGovern, campaigning in Massachusetts—the only state he carried in his 1972 landslide loss to former president Richard Nixon—finished third, with 21 per cent of the vote. The next day McGovern withdrew, saying, "If I haven't done anything else, I have restored myself as a nationally respected figure in the country." Super Tuesday's verdict also wrecked the Oval Office ambitions of Senator John Glenn. More than $2 million in debt and without a single primary or caucus victory to his credit, the Ohio senator formally withdrew at week's end. Dependent on a strong showing in the conservative South, Glenn failed to win more than 21 per cent in any state. His 16-month campaign for the presidency had won him just 30 delegates. Said Glenn, paraphrasing John F. Kennedy: "Presidential candidates must endure a gap between what they would like and what is possible."

With McGovern and Glenn officially out, three candidates remained: the ascendant Gary Hart, 47, the newly combative Walter Mondale, 56, and the charismatic Rev. Jesse Jackson, 42. Jackson aides concede that their candidate has no realistic prospect of winning the nomination, but he has vowed to stay in the race until the end, and every new delegate he wins will strengthen his bargaining position. Indeed, if neither Hart nor Mondale secures a delegate majority before the convention, Jackson will use his own delegates to determine the winner in exchange for negotiated policy guarantees.

Last week, finishing third in Georgia and fourth in Alabama, Jackson drew his heaviest support from rural blacks. His ability to woo black voters particularly hurt Mondale. The former vice-president scored extremely well in black precincts. But his margin of victory in Alabama and Georgia would have been much wider without Jackson. For the Mondale campaign, that factor loomed as especially important in Illinois. Chicago is headquarters for Jackson's Operation PUSH, a human rights organization, and blacks make up at least 25 per cent of the electorate. The absence of Glenn from the ballot also seemed likely to hurt Mondale. Exit polls taken last week revealed that Glenn's core support came from suburban whites who named Hart as their second choice.

The exit-poll surveys are useful in defining the strengths and weaknesses of the major candidates. Last week's showed that Mondale was more likely to capture the traditional Democratic vote—from blacks, labor unions, the elderly and the poor. Hart's appeal was much broader. Except among blacks—he won just one per cent of Alabama's and Georgia's black vote—Hart attracted voters in all socioeconomic categories. Independent voters, especially those who voted for Reagan in 1980, overwhelmingly favored Hart, as did young urban professionals. He also scored impressively among union voters, despite the AFL-CIO's endorsement of Mondale.

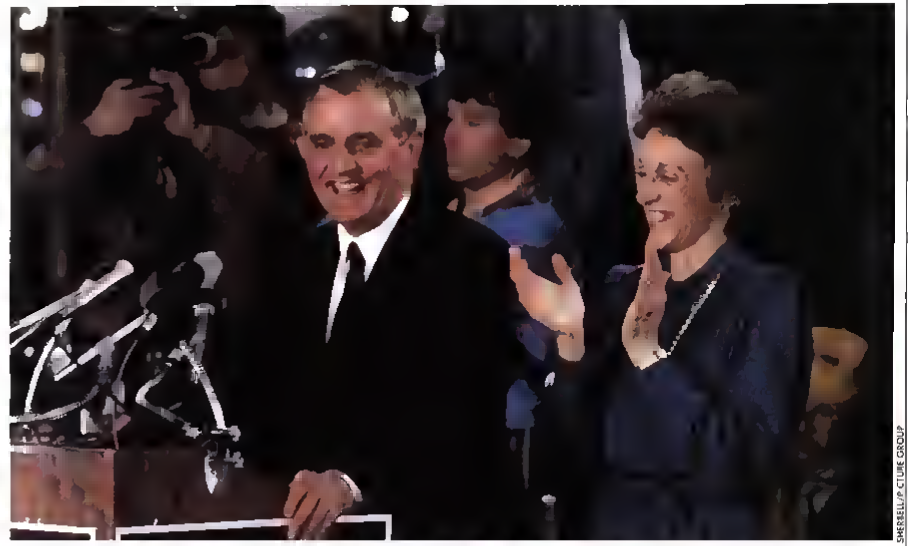
Mondale's labor ties proved their value, however, during the weekend caucuses. Michigan's 850,000 union members showed greater willingness to obey the labor leadership than did their colleagues in New England. Hart's Senate vote against several loan guarantees during the federal rescue of the near-bankrupt Chrysler Corp. in 1979 and his opposition to domestic content legislation for imported cars left him with little chance of a breakthrough.

But the labor vote threatened to be more critical in later primaries. Illinois, New York (April 3) and Pennsylvania (April 10). Said Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, a Mondale supporter: "We will really know what labor means when we get to Illinois, New York, etc." Still, many experts doubt whether union leaders can now effectively deliver their rank-and-file members. Said Columbia University historian Eric Foner: "Workers think for themselves like every other voter."

As well, campaign officials conceded last week that money may soon be a problem for Mondale. After Illinois he will have spent $17 million, more than two-thirds of the $24.6-million federal ceiling. Mondale has already laid off some campaign workers, and the money squeeze will tighten as the campaign continues, limiting Mondale's ability to buy television time. In contrast, Hart has spent less than $4 million, leaving ample reserves for later primaries. At

Glenn: tactical blunders





Hart and wife, Lee, in Washington (opposite); Mondale with wife, Joan: tightening the Democratic front-runner's race

the same time, his once impoverished treasury is now brimming. A month ago his campaign was so cash-poor that he was forced to take out a $45,000 second mortgage on his suburban Washington, D.C., home. Last week campaign manager Oliver (Pudge) Henkel said that donations were coming in at a rate of "six figures on a daily basis."

Still, Mondale was in a strong position as well. Hart's unprecedented rise—to a nine-per-cent lead in the polls over Reagan from two per cent in nationwide recognition—had appeared likely to deliver the final blow on Super Tuesday to Mondale's presidential bid. But afterward Mondale's campaign director, James Johnson, said, "We brought Hart down out of the stratosphere."

Mondale resurrected his candidacy by questioning Gary Hart's basic ability to govern. In a recent interview Hart answered a hypothetical question about a Persian Gulf crisis by indicating that, if he were president, U.S. Armed Forces would not intervene. "There will be no 82nd Airborne, no American invasion force," Hart said. "We can help with supply, but if they want intervention, they are the ones who are going to have to do it." During another interview Hart had been asked whether he would describe the Cuban government as totalitarian. Said Hart: "Cuba is not democratic and it is not totalitarian." The interviewer continued, "If Cuba is not totalitarian, what is it?" Replied Hart: "I don't know." During 18-hour marathon campaigning days last week, Mondale described Hart's comment as naïve. "I don't think he thought it through," he said. "A president has to recognize dictators for what they are." On the Middle East, Mondale said: "It is naïve to announce in advance what you would or would not do in a hypothetical situation. The subtle, sophisticated use of American power is one of the most important elements of the presidency. I will not go beyond the public record. But Hart gave these answers, and they should give the American voter pause."

Other aspects of Hart's background and character also began to attract increased attention. It had been well-known that he ran George McGovern's ill-fated 1972 presidential campaign and that he changed his name to Hart from Hartpence in 1961, but now some observers are finding dark significance in the fact that he recently changed his signature, dropping his middle name, Warren. Others continued to insist that Hart had dissembled about his age. Although he is 47, congressional biographies and numerous application forms show Hart giving his birthdate as Nov. 28, 1937, which would make him 46. Hart has blamed the error on misinformed staffers and family confusion. As for his name, Hart has said that he joined his parents, both now dead, in shortening the name. Skeptics, including Hart's own uncle Ralph, contend that the initiative for changing the name came from Gary, in preparation for a political career. Some critics have even been questioning the circumstances of Hart's naval commission. He won a commission as a junior advocate two months before the end of Jimmy Carter's democratic administration, allegedly pulling strings to obtain a waiver because he was overage.



Jackson on campaign plans: 'It's not a 40-yard dash, it's a decathlon'

How much that harder scrutiny of Hart affected last week's results is not clear, but most political veterans believe it had some impact. Said Jody Powell, who was Carter's press secretary and a skilled practitioner of hardball politics: "Mondale raised enough questions about just who Gary Hart is, what he stands for, and what his experience is, to dodge the Hart bullet." But Mondale's strategy is not risk-free. Negative campaigning may unwittingly build sympathy for the target of the attacks. Moreover, if Hart wins the nomination, Mondale's barbs may leave him wounded and incapable of beating Reagan in November. On the other hand, if Mondale emerges as the nominee, Hart's supporters may be reluctant to rally to the cause. Said Washington political consultant John Sears: "Somebody has to rough up Gary Hart. But the risk is that you may render the nomination less valuable."

As well, in the view of many observers, criticizing Hart does not address the fundamental flaws in the Mondale campaign. Said Powell: "There is no evidence that he has dealt with his basic problem—restructuring his image." In short, Mondale has not provided a persuasive rationale for his candidacy.

Hart's challenge is to prove himself equal to the tough questioning that inevitably pursues front-runners. Said political analyst Alan Barron: "That is the issue—can he face the scrutiny?" Hart made one misstep last week when he accused Mondale of running television advertisements that impugned his character. It turned out that no such ads had been aired, and Hart apologized. He performed better during a grilling by NBC newsman Roger Mudd. Answering questions about his age, name and Kennedy mannerisms, Hart said, "The American people know a fraud when they see one, Mr. Mudd."

The Democratic presidential race now appears likely to become a test not only of character but of endurance. "It is not a 40-yard dash," Jesse Jackson said last week. "It is a decathlon struggle." Mondale led Hart in delegates committed to his candidacy, but Hart continued to win the popularity contests. Predicted Robert Strauss, a senior party insider: "We will go all the way to the convention before we select a candidate." As the surviving Democrats campaigned throughout Illinois last week, the lines for battle were clearly drawn. Said McGovern: "I think there is enough beef in both of them," tactfully refusing to endorse either contender. But McGovern added, "There is enough beef—if they don't turn each other into hamburger." ✪



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EL SALVADOR

Fear and death on the campaign trail



Morgue workers removing candidate Rosa's body in San Salvador intensifying election violence

It was a typical suburban scene, except for the location. early morning sunshine, a quiet residential street, a father driving his daughter to school in the family's green Toyota. But the suburb was El Hogar, on the northern outskirts of San Salvador. The father was a senior official of one of the right-wing parties contesting El Salvador's tumultuous presidential election, scheduled for Sunday, March 25. And there were two gunmen lying in ambush in a pickup truck parked along the street. The incident ended with a hail of 45-calibre bullets that killed Tito Adalberto Rosa, 57, a national director of the Authentic Salvadoran Institutional Party, and critically wounded his six-year-old daughter, Lilian. It was the second political assassination in two days, and the gunmen—typically—escaped. Politics in El Salvador, where a fierce civil war has been raging since 1980, are often savage, and this year's presidential race, involving eight candidates ranging from moderate to ultra-conservative in political philosophy, has been no exception.

The campaign, ridiculed by leftists, has been marred by strikes, kidnappings, intimidation of voters and assassinations by both left- and right-wing extremists. Rosa was the fifth right-wing politician to be slain since the race began at the start of the year. Shortly after his assassins shot him, a splinter group from one of the country's numerous left-wing guerrilla factions, the Popular Liberation Forces (FPL), distributed pamphlets claiming responsibility for the two latest slayings.

Then, in an ominous development, leaders of the leftist guerrillas announced that there would be no truce during the elections. A spokesman for the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) said in a clandestine radio broadcast that the rebels had mined the principal highways running through the nation's eastern provinces. On Saturday FMLN guerrillas attacked a key government army garrison in San Miguel, 128 km east of San Salvador. Said the spokesman, FMLN senior commander Joaquin Villalobos, "We are going to deepen the war, during and after the elections."

With only a week to run, the campaign seemed destined to produce no clear winner, which would require a runoff early in May between this weekend's two top finishers. At stake is a five-year term in the presidential palace and perhaps a chance for the victor to impose his philosophy on the war-torn and economically crippled Central American republic, which President Ronald Reagan's administration has vowed to safeguard from communism.

The front-runners are two old and bitter opponents: 57-year-old moderate José Napoleón Duarte and 41-year-old ultraconservative Maj. Roberto d'Aubuisson. The Christian Democratic Party, under Duarte, a popular former mayor of the capital, is expected to lead the balloting but to fall short of the 50-per-cent total required for victory. D'Aubuisson, leader of the Nationalist Republican Alliance, whose name is frequently linked to the notorious right-wing death squads that maraud through El Salvador shooting, kidnapping or beating suspected leftist sympathizers, is widely expected to finish second, setting up the runoff.

D'Aubuisson: bristling



A team of international scrutineers—including a three-man Canadian delegation led by Human Rights Commissioner Gordon Fairweather—will monitor the balloting. The Salvadoran military government, responding to firm pressure from Washington, is striving to show that democracy can function in El Salvador. But the scrutineers will watch an election in which there are no left-of-centre candidates and in which as many as 40 per cent of the 2.5 million eligible voters may not cast ballots, even though Salvadoran law makes voting compulsory. At least 300,000 Salvadorans are now homeless because of the civil conflict.

Last week, despite what army leaders and senior Reagan administration spokesmen termed a critical shortage of weapons and ammunition, the Salvadoran forces launched an ambitious campaign to recover control of 20 northern towns which had fallen under control of the FMLN. With a force of 5,000 troops, supported by a U.S. Air Force AC-130 Spectre reconnaissance aircraft, the Salvadorans pounded FMLN positions in the provinces of San Miguel and Morazán. One early success: the recovery by government forces of the town of Corinto, 200 km northeast of San Salvador. But the guerrillas' Saturday assaults blunted the government's push, forcing it to redeploy troops.

According to a late poll conducted in four provinces by San Salvador's Catholic university, few Salvadorans believed that the elections would be entirely honest or that they would lead to an end to the civil war, which has already cost an estimated 50,000 lives. Duarte, the moderate whose campaign style has been remarkably pugnacious (he taunts his chief opponent as "Roberto d'Escuadrón"—from the Spanish for "death squads"), has promised to extend peace feelers to the leftists. But d'Aubuisson, whose entourage bristles with weaponry but whose platform style is low-key, says, "After March 25, the Christian Democrats will be with the guerrillas or they will count for nothing."

The intensifying rhetoric and military action at the close of the campaign was matched by the right-wing underground's tactics. In addition to the two assassinations last week, there were numerous reports of right-wing activists on patrol. The archbishop of San Salvador, Msgr. Arturo Rivera y Damas, said death squads had taken at least seven lives.

The leftists, meanwhile, are gambling that their latest assaults will deter voters from returning to their home towns to cast their ballots. (Salvadoran law requires members of the electorate to vote in their home towns.) But that did not stop the furious pace of campaigning. "Comrade Ruben," a political organizer for the FPL, was in the northern town of La Palma last week, handing out propaganda, smiling and meeting reporters. Said Ruben, pointing to a wall plastered with posters and political graffiti: "We have even allowed them to campaign."

—ROBERT MILLER *in Toronto, with Paul Ellman in El Salvador and Carol Kennedy in London*



Gemayel addressing the Lausanne talks: acrimonious and inconclusive discussions

LEBANON

A push for a peaceful pause

The setting for last week's talks on Lebanese national reconciliation was auspicious. The 123-year-old Hotel Beau Rivage, in the Swiss city of Lausanne, has often served as a historic place for discussions on the fate of nations. In 1923 Turkey and its First World War antagonists made peace there. In keeping with that tradition, last week's gathering of Christian, Druze, Shi'ite and Sunni Moslem faction leaders made swift progress on one fundamental issue: an immediate ceasefire. But the conference got nowhere on the central issue: power-sharing between the Moslem and Christian communities. Even the Beirut ceasefire, by one count the 180th in nine years of war, failed to hold completely.

Similarly, there was as little confidence in Beirut over the outcome of the talks as there was that the ceasefire would continue. Indeed, delegates in Lausanne quickly abandoned their acrimonious formal discussions and instead sought solutions on power-sharing during corridor politicking.

Still, there was a key difference between the current round of talks and an earlier session which broke off last November without results. Since then, Lebanese President Amin Gemayel has sought closer ties with Syria. In turn, that resulted last week in a new and highly influential Syrian presence at the conference. Lebanese officials credited Vice-President Abdel Halim Khaddam, who officially attended as an observer, as the chief architect of last week's ceasefire. Still, some delegates had misgivings over Khaddam's presence. Charged one former Lebanese cabinet minister: "The Syrians have no intention of talking about serious reforms. All they want is the minimum agreement that will keep Lebanon quiet so they can deal with more pressing regional matters."

After a week of intense lobbying, the rough outline of a Syrian-orchestrated peace plan began to emerge. Under the plan, a Lebanese Moslem and close Syrian ally, Rashid Karami, would take office as prime minister with a "national unity cabinet." The cabinet, working with an as yet unconfirmed Christian president, would seek a new security pact with Israel. As well, the Christian domination of the Lebanese parliament would give way to equal representation for Christians and Moslems. Finally, the country would be divided into "cantons," permitting limited autonomy and self-protection for religious factions.

Still, observers warned, agreement remains a distant goal. At the same time, increasingly independent Christian militias and their youthful commanders are growing disaffected with their older political leaders in Lausanne. The fear remained that even if the conference adopted the Syrian outline, Christian forces will feel compelled to sabotage it. —JARED MITCHELL, *with correspondents' reports.*



French farmers protesting in Brussels: initial optimism degenerated into bitterness

THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

Battling against a breakdown

The grim threat of bankruptcy hung over the European Economic Community headquarters in Brussels this week as the leaders of its 10 member states gathered for a summit on which the community's long-term survival may hinge. In an effort to avert disaster, agriculture ministers last week reached a landmark compromise that cut the community's runaway farm spending, which is already 40 per cent over budget for this year. Then the initial optimism swiftly degenerated into bitterness when Britain continued to insist on a permanent reduction in their budget payments to the EEC, which could drain the EEC treasury before the end of the year. Warned President Gaston Thorn of the EEC's administrative body, the European Commission. "Rebandaging is impossible: the wound is too deep."

The standoff followed weeks of diplomatic shuttling by French President François Mitterrand, the current president of the EEC's council of ministers, and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. The two men's spirit of give and take on the agricultural issue raised hopes of finding a way out of the financial crisis. After a heated closed-door debate which lasted until 3 a.m., the agriculture ministers agreed to cut milk production. It was the first measure to limit farm growth in the community's 27-year history. The quota will keep dairy subsidies to $3.4 billion (U.S.), or one-third of the $14.3-billion budget.

The agreement represented a capitulation by France, Europe's largest milk producer, whose 420,000 dairy farmers threatened to renew their protests staged earlier this year when they blocked rail lines and border crossings. For its part, West Germany agreed to a three-year dismantling of the tangled Monetary Compensatory Amounts (MCAs) that are used to protect intra-EEC farm trade from currency fluctuations. That sacrifice will cost Bonn, the chief beneficiary until now, $960 million (Cdn.) in repayments to German farmers.

But Britain contended that neither reform meets its needs. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is holding out for a complete financial overhaul, including a drastic reduction in total farm spending as well as a rebate to Britain. In response, France and Italy have blocked repayment of last year's British rebate of $850 million until a complete package is negotiated. British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe warned last week that the moves could "sour the summit." But former prime minister Edward Heath, the Conservative who signed Britain into the EEC, criticized Thatcher's "eternal bickering." Heath's warning coincided with Greenland's decision last week to withdraw from the EEC. It is the first member to do so. But any significance the withdrawal may have for the community's future seemed to be ignored by the heads of government.

—MARCI MCDONALD *in Paris*

SOUTH AFRICA

Botha secures his borders

The setting in the little South African border town of Komatipoort was replete with pomp and symbolism. In a ceremonial train, South African Prime Minister Pieter Botha and Mozambican President Samora Machel last week conferred before signing the first mutual nonaggression treaty between a black African state and the white-dominated republic.

Still, for Machel the cost of the treaty was dangerously high. Botha had brought him to heel with a carrot-and-stick strategy: offering his drought-ravaged nation economic aid while increasing support for anti-Machel rebels within Mozambique. Under the agreement's terms, Mozambique will gain renewed trade and an end to military incursions by both the rebels and South African commandos. In return, Machel agreed to Pretoria's demand that his government cease support for anti-apartheid guerrillas of the African National Congress, who allegedly operate from its territory.

The agreement was the latest success for Botha's *machtpolitik* (power politics). Last January his government signed a ceasefire agreement with the Marxist government of Angola. Under that accord, South Africa agreed to withdraw its troops from operations deep inside Angola. In addition, Pretoria pledged to discontinue its aid to guerrillas of the antigovernment UNITA movement.

The Angolan ceasefire closely resembled last week's accord with Mozambique. But it may have far-reaching effects. *The Washington Post* reported last week that Cuba may pull out 25,000 troops who have been supporting the Angolan government. A Cuban withdrawal would satisfy long-standing demands by South Africa and the United States that Cuba remove its troops as a precondition for granting independence to South African-controlled Namibia.

South Africa's *machtpolitik* has not been matched by moves to meet black grievances within the country. Indeed, Sheena Duncan, head of South Africa's leading civil rights group, Black Sash, warned last week that white oppression is undiminished. "There is a surface level where changes occur," Duncan said, "and a deeper level where pressures increase and people drown." For South Africa's 17 million blacks, *machtpolitik*'s successes will dramatically sharpen those tensions.

—ALLISTER SPARKS *in Johannesburg*

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The economy's disarray

By James Fleming

The dollar was falling, and interest rates were climbing. But Finance Minister Marc Lalonde was determined to maintain his equilibrium. As economists and Opposition party critics warned that Canada's uncertain recovery was threatened, Lalonde dismissed their forbidding predictions and exuded confidence over the economy's prospects. Still, Lalonde acknowledged that the outlook for the national economy is never certain. "Economic forecasting is not a science, but an art," he told *Maclean's*. "And some might say it is not even an art, it is almost like throwing darts."

Indeed, Lalonde's faith in the recovery's strength contrasted with the fears of many experts that the upturn is dangerously fragile. Since the beginning of the year there have been indications that the economy's rate of growth is slowing after spurting ahead by three per cent after inflation last year. Initially, that development did not appear to concern economists, who declared that it was a normal stage in the recovery. Then, in March, a rise in U.S. interest rates which began last December set off a downward tumble in the value of the Canadian dollar, to less than 79 cents, startling money traders across Canada. Ottawa spent an estimated $500 million (U.S.) buying Canadian dollars in the fast-paced world money markets. But the action failed to buoy the dollar, and the Bank of Canada turned to another measure. It raised its influential bank rate to 10.56 per cent, the highest level since December, 1982.

It is unclear whether the rate increase will renew the dollar's strength by making Canadian-dollar investments more attractive. But the action in the money markets has set off a furious debate over the implications of the dollar's fall for the Canadian economy, for businesses and for consumers. And the debate is not restricted to Canada. In the United States, Americans watched nervously as interest rates there also inched upward, fuelling fears of a possible reversal in the U.S. recovery. At the same time, Europeans—just beginning to recover from their worst slump since the Second World War—also expressed concern.

In the Commons, Conservative finance critic John Crosbie said that Lalonde was clearly responsible for the dollar's weakness. His reasoning: the finance minister's "incredibly stupid" remark a week earlier that he would not lose any sleep if the Canadian dollar did not remain at the 81-cent level. The comment, said Crosbie, had led to a run on the dollar. New Democratic Leader Ed Broadbent declared that the subsequent interest rate rise would bring to a halt the already "precarious recovery."



Lalonde's economic forecasting is little more than a hit-and-miss game

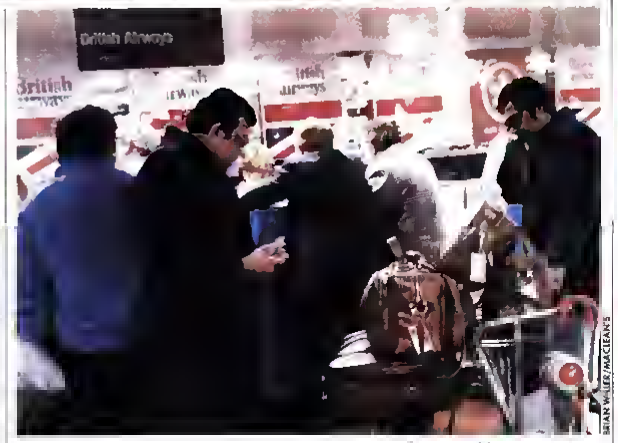
But the political attacks had little apparent effect on Lalonde. He asserted in an interview that there is no cause for alarm and he added that the rate increase is only a temporary move. The intent of the government policy, explained Lalonde, is to end "yo-yo movements" which money traders created in the value of the Canadian dollar last week. Bank of Canada Gov. Gerald Bouey also vigorously defended the rate hike. In the bank's annual report, released last Friday, Bouey warned that sharp drops in the dollar's value lead to almost immediate price increases in imported goods. And those price increases, he added, "fan out through the economy."

Few Canadian businessmen dispute Bouey's contention that wild swings in the dollar's value should be avoided. David Rehor, the treasurer of the Ford Motor Co. of Canada Ltd., for one, has been preoccupied in the past two weeks with the dollar's gyrating value. For Rehor, it is a complex game. The nature of Ford's North American trade makes a decline in the Canadian dollar's value relative to its U.S. counterpart an unpleasant development for Rehor and his staff. But in the long term he has a safety net: in Ford Canada's New Zealand, South African and Australian subsidiaries, whose national currencies may take a different course from that of the U.S. dollar. That, Rehor said, could potentially even offset U.S. currency losses.

But that potential long-term relief was little consolation for Rehor last week as the monthly deadlines for large bills, payable only in U.S. dollars, approached. By week's end the treasury department's hourly watch of money trading had successfully manoeuvred through the volatile money markets and kept currency costs for the debt to a minimum. But Rehor acknowledged that, like Lalonde, no one at Ford—or anywhere else for that matter—has perfect currency foresight. Said Rehor: "We have never found anyone who is consistently good. But he will be a very well-paid person when he is identified. People will beat his door down."

At the same time, importers like Canon Canada Inc., the Mississauga, Ont.-based arm of Japan's optical, electronics and office machine giant, face substantial losses from a plunging Canadian dollar. Like Rehor, Leo Robichaud, Canon Canada's vice-president, finds his working hours increasingly tied up consulting bankers, economists and other forecasters about the dollar's trend. The Canadian dollar's relative stability over the past 12 months has allowed Canon Canada to absorb currency-induced cost increases. But if the current dollar trend continues, Canon may have to increase its product prices. Increased prices will not likely erode Canon's position relative to its major competitors, because they all import their products from the Far East, but Robichaud is concerned about the effects on consumers. Said he: "In the long term my concern is the consumer's confidence. It is not very strong now. But if it is not really clear to him what his dollar is worth, he may just put all his money in the bank."

Curiously, the dollar's movements in the past two weeks have not had much impact on the tourism industry. Indeed, David Collett, the executive vice-president of Toronto-based P. Lawson Travel, reports that, compared to last year, bookings have increased at the firm's 78 agencies. Part of the reason is timing. The dollar's gyrations began at the end of the key winter vacation season and long after most Canadians booked their sun trips to Florida or the western United States. Said Collett: "We can be thankful that the dollar did not go down in January." Even the summer travel season looks bright. The Canadian dollar has lost strength to Europe's currencies in recent weeks, but Collett said that a survey conducted by his company showed that on the Continent and in Britain, Canadian currency is still an average of 10 per cent stronger than last year. But he added that a dramatic drop in the dollar's value could severely curtail European travel next year.



Travellers at Lester B. Pearson International Airport: tourism is healthy

Indeed, like businessman, a number of private economists believe that Lalonde's confident outlook for the dollar and interest rates is overly optimistic. Unlike the finance minister, many of them do not expect an easing of the upward pressure on the Bank of Canada rate. And that would lead to increased consumer loan and mortgage rates, both of which would curtail the recovery.

Thomas Maxwell, chief economist of the Conference Board of Canada economic forecasting group, is even more pessimistic. He declared that the recovery was in danger of aborting even before last week's increase in money costs. He said that the recovery was "jumpstarted" last year when consumers finally made long-delayed major purchases of houses, automobiles, furniture and appliances. Now, he said, the recovery should be moving into its second stage—increased investment by business in machinery and plants. In-

Toronto photo dealers' prices will be unstable if the dollar decline continues



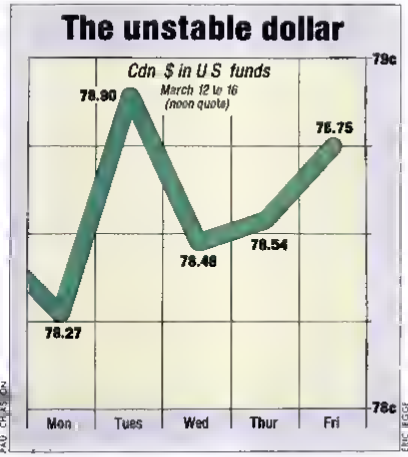
stead, he added, after dropping 12.2 per cent last year, investment spending may fall another five per cent this year. That is in sharp contrast to Lalonde's previous prediction of a six- to seven-per-cent jump in business spending on machinery and equipment. Still, the finance minister insisted that increased government spending, including a 25-per-cent rise in Ottawa's capital expenditure, will keep the recovery moving if industry fails. Lalonde pointed out that in January export sales hit $8.9 billion, achieving a record $2.1-billion surplus over imports. As well, Lalonde said that a 10.6-per-cent hike in retail sales in January over last year is a sure indication of consumer confidence. But other experts remain unconvinced. They contend that the strength of exports and retail sales is largely the result of a surge in automobile sales.

more hopeful. After weeks of talks with Republican senators, the White House announced an accord on Thursday to cut both military and social spending and raise some marginal taxes. In all, the Republican package would reduce spending and increase revenues through 1987 by more than $150 billion. But even if the plan is approved, enormous deficits still loom: $169 billion in 1985, $150 billion in 1986, and $143 billion in 1987. As well, the package must still be passed by Congress, where the Democrats are certain to demand more weapons cuts and tax increases for high-income brackets. Any compromise will take months of debate in an election year.

Still, there are no major signs that the year-and-a-half-old U.S. economic recovery is slowing down. Indeed, it may be rolling along too quickly from cause for celebration. But the current recovery is clouded by many uncertainties. After dropping below four per cent in mid-1983, inflation has been inching up again. Some experts fear that by the end of this year it may reach six to seven per cent. Although interest rates have been rising, it is not yet enough to stall the boom. Still, demand for credit from consumers and businesses may soon collide with Washington's own enormous borrowing needs. In a series of statements that unnerved Wall Street earlier this year, Volcker warned that the Fed would not expand money growth merely to keep interest rates low. Since then, fears of higher rates have knocked the Dow Jones Industrial Average down more than 10 per cent.

The United States' other deficit—in trade—has also reached the point of endangering both the recovery and the







Bouey (left); Volcker: upward pressure on U.S. interest rates may ultimately mean high money costs for Canadians

Said Maxwell. "Sales of cars are the only thing that is keeping us going."

The basis for Lalonde's continued optimism is his forecast for economic events in the United States. He predicted that the recent rises in U.S. interest rates, which have pulled up Canada's money costs, will only last for a few weeks—or months at the most. The reason: Lalonde is counting on the ability of President Ronald Reagan's administration and Congress to curb the U.S. deficit, which is forecast to reach $195 billion (U.S.) in the 1985 fiscal year. Financing that bulging deficit has put the most pressure on U.S. rates.

Until late last week few major forecasters in Washington shared Lalonde's confidence. But now many of them are

the point of view of Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul Volcker and the U.S. financial community. After growing more than six per cent in the first year of its upswing (which started in August, 1982), the United States' gross national product had been expected to slow somewhat this year. But recent figures indicate that that may not happen. Industrial output was reported last week to have surged 1.2 per cent in February, bringing several industries close to capacity. Construction spending and housing starts soared too. The production boom is being spurred on by strong consumer buying and borrowing, heavy government spending and, most recently, a burst of capital investment by business.

Normally, such figures would be a

U.S. dollar. January's $9.47-billion trade gap was an all-time record, and the U.S. overall current account deficit could double this year, to more than $80 billion. Only huge inflows of foreign capital have enabled Washington to finance its budget deficits (roughly 40 per cent of 1983's federal debt was sold to foreigners) and permitted Americans to buy far more than they sell overseas.

Americans are now concerned about how much longer foreigners will continue buying U.S. dollars, stocks, bonds and government securities. There are already signs that foreign demand is weakening. Since January the U.S. dollar has dropped about six per cent against the French franc and the German mark, and two per cent against the British pound. Said Hans Mast, execu-



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tive vice-president of Zurich-based Credit Suisse "International investors have reached the point of capacity for [U.S.] dollar holdings." Should a more dramatic run develop, what one European banker calls "the lemming effect" could fuel a foreign exchange market panic. Said Fritz Leutwiler, chairman of the Swiss National Bank and the Bank for International Settlements: "Since opinions in the foreign exchange markets are reached in a somewhat irrational manner, there is no telling what might happen."

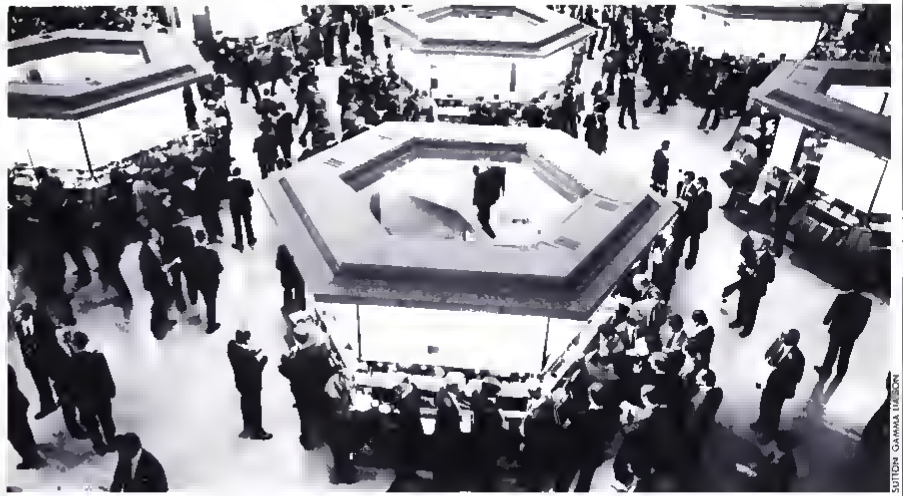
Reduced to essentials, the U.S. recovery has been spurred by a strong dollar and government spending which has produced mammoth federal deficits. Reining in those deficits, which now threaten the whole structure, will clearly take time. Meanwhile, financing them depends heavily on foreigners' continued confidence. That traps Fed Chairman Volcker in a no-win situation. If he tightens credit to curb inflation, interest rates will rise, jeopardizing the recovery and exposing him to angry political attacks. But even if Volcker eases credit and funnels more cash into the banking system, fears of inflation will drive interest rates up anyway, and that could send the dollar into a tailspin. Some forecasters, although they are a minority, expect the U.S. dollar to plunge as much as 40 per cent this year, which would throw the world's financial markets into a panic. Either way, the still-robust U.S. recovery looks less and less likely to turn into a healthy long-running boom. (Concern about what course Volcker will take is so intense that one investor newsletter, *International Moneyline*, takes tape recordings of his public statements on the U.S. economy and subjects them to voice stress analysis.)

Even if a deficit-cutting compromise is worked out in Washington and interest rate pressures ease, other serious problems still plague the Canadian economy. For one thing, while the unemployment rate in the United States dropped for the sixth month in a row, hitting 7.7 per cent in February, Canada's jobless ranks continue to swell, rising to 11.3 per cent from 11.2 per cent. For another, while the annual U.S. inflation rate is 4.1 per cent, Statistics Canada announced last week that the Canadian rate had risen to 5.5 per cent in February over last year. Said Joshua Mendelsohn, an economist with the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce: "Our recovery is nowhere near as strong as that in the United States." Indeed, there are also signs that Canada's recovery in 1984 will lag behind that of several major European nations—an area that was largely left behind during last year's North American upswing.

Currently, European stock exchanges are continuing a heady climb despite a slowdown on Wall Street. The spectacular buying of European stocks last year—shares shot up by 60 per cent in Paris and by more than 30 per cent in Frankfurt, Brussels and London—has increased with indications of an economic upturn. Behind much of the activity is an apparent desire by investors to build up their overseas portfolios while the dollar is still strong enough to make foreign stocks look cheap.

But the power and durability of Europe's resurgence depends—like Canada's—on whether the U.S. economy continues to advance. Any drop in American consumer demand or sharp depreciation of the U.S. dollar would destroy Europe's export surge. West Germany provides dramatic evidence of the dependency. Last November and December its exports to the United States were a full 43 per cent higher than in the previous year.

In Canada most economists, while not as bullish about the future as Lalonde is, are more upbeat in their forecasts than the Conference Board's Maxwell. The majority of them predict that Canada's economy will grow by about four per cent this year, compared to Maxwell's forecast of 3.3 per cent and Lalonde's 4.9 per cent. However, most economists dismiss the finance minister's hopes that prime lending rates will drop by the end of the year. Instead, they say that they will stick to last week's 11.5-per-cent level. For his part, Lalonde dismisses charges that he is overconfident. Said the minister: "At any particular time you can find economists that support either optimistic or pessimistic outlooks—and they have all been proven wrong in the past."


SUTTON GAMMA PHOTOS

London Stock Exchange: European markets have boomed as investors build up overseas portfolios with still-strong U.S. funds

With Ian Austen in Toronto, Lenny Glynn in New York and Peter Lewis in Brussels.

A costly flight plan

It was an appropriate proposal for a Crown-owned company that has been engaged in wishful thinking for years. Last week Senator Jack Austin appeared before the Commons finance committee to announce that Ottawa was going to eliminate the problems of aircraft manufacturer Canadair Ltd.—essentially with a stroke of a pen. Austin's plan is easy to execute but it is also costly. In an attempt to give the faltering firm a second chance at life, Ottawa will let Canadair turn its staggering $1.35-billion debt over to taxpayers.

The plan involves giving the company's assets to a firm known as New Canadair, while leaving all its debts with the old company. All that will remain of the original Canadair is a shell company which will hold the debts until they are paid off. The transfer will provide Austin with his first opportunity to be optimistic about the firm (whose 1982 loss of $1.4 billion was a Canadian corporate record) in months. Indeed, the senator, who is the cabinet minister responsible for Canadair, told MPs last week that the change would not only assure the company of survival but would even turn a predicted profit of $1.4 million by the end of this year. For those who feared that the New Canadair may be no more profitable than the old, Ottawa also introduced new measures that the government contends will tighten up cabinet's financial control of Crown corporations. Still, many observers remain convinced that the New Canadair will fail.

The debt and last week's bailout both are the result of a previous attempt by members of Canadair's former management to save the firm from liquidation. In 1976 they convinced Ottawa to buy the then-troubled aerospace subcontracting and waterbomber business from its U.S. parent. The sales pitch: Canadair's future could be assured by directing its major efforts to a single, costly project—the Challenger executive jet program. But poor design of the original Challenger model, inadequate disclosure to the government of Canadair's plans, weak management and manufacturing control, as well as contracts to sell planes below production costs all combined to turn the plan into a financial failure. Said Austin last week: "Quite simply, the company was looking at the world through rose-colored glasses."

But all of Canadair's problems, except for its debt and an inability to sell planes in the highly competitive executive aviation market, have now been eliminated, Austin contended. Not only that, but he declared that by taking over the debt remaining with old Canadair, Parliament could also help to ease the firm's sales problems. Sales of the new Challenger 601 model have been clearly disappointing. It apparently does not share the poor performance record of the previous Challenger 600, but businesses purchased only four of the new models last year (along with two sales of the older model), and Canadair finished 1983 with a loss of $334.2 million. But, said Canadair President Gilbert Bennett, if taxpayers give the firm a fresh start, buyers will have confidence in the new product because the builder's future will be assured—a situation that Bennett estimates will lead to sales of at least 15 units a year.

But others do not share Bennett's and Austin's confidence. For his part, Robert Joedicke, an aviation financing specialist at New York's Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb Inc., dismissed the argument that potential buyers may have postponed purchases because of fears that Canadair would vanish. Government ownership of the company, he said, has meant that its continued operation was assured. Rather, customers held back from buying because the Challenger's $13-million price tag is too high for executives, while the 19-passenger aircraft itself is too small for regional airline use. Said Joedicke: "It falls between the markets. It has to redefine its market or else I cannot see things improving."

Ottawa also indicated last week that it does not want to be taken by surprise by another Crown corporation's problems in the future. Two days after Austin announced his Canadair plans, Treasury Board President Herb Gray unveiled legislation that will tighten the government's, and the auditor general's, grip on Crown corporations' finances. Under Gray's plan the auditor general would eventually be able to audit or coaudit the accounts of Crown corporations which currently keep their books away from his scrutiny. As well, the bill will give the government power to approve a corporation's future financial and expansion plans.

But even if Austin's plans, combined with Gray's controls, turn Canadair into a success, the debate over the company is not likely to end. Last week Austin called the government-financed revamping of Canadair "the first step" toward the company being sold off to the private sector. But if that happens, Canadian taxpayers will get nothing for their money but Canadair's debts.

—IAN AUSTEN *in Toronto, with Margaret Polanyi in Ottawa*

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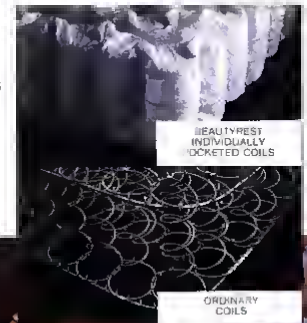
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The princes of competition

By Peter C. Newman

The impression John Turner left behind at last week's press conference announcing his Liberal leadership candidacy was that as far as he was concerned there was no need for a plume of white smoke to confirm his papal succession to Pierre Trudeau.

He may be right.

The Kennedyesque menu of priorities he tabled is impressive, moving the Liberal party straight ahead instead of detouring to the left or right. He will be spelling out his policies in the next two months, trying hard to separate himself from the Mulroney brand of Conservatism. That may not be an easy exercise, because the kind of Canada the two men espouse is similar. To run against each other, they will have to invent some differences.

One ideological meeting place they share, for instance, is the issue of deregulation. No matter who wins the next election, the move to banish governmental restraints, which is sweeping Ronald Reagan's America, is about to cross the border with a vengeance.

Michael Wilson, whose sensible-shoes approach has triumphed over John Crosbie's rambunctiousness in formulating Mulroney's economic policies, emphasized this trend when he told me in a recent interview: "Because of the size of the federal deficit, there is no way to generate new economic activity except by removing some of the regulatory obstacles holding back the private sector. It's going to mean a new government saying, 'Let's try to put some rationality back into the system and remove the unnecessary complexities that have developed.' This will require considerable withdrawal of the government from the decision-making process. The fewer regulations there are, the more competition there will be, and the lower consumer prices will go."

John Turner didn't sound too different in one of the rare interviews he gave during his self-imposed silence between Liberal incarnations. He put it to me this way: "I've been involved as a lawyer for a good many of the independent Canadian-owned oil companies in the National Energy Program. Without getting into the program itself or what it was supposed to do for Canada, what disturbs me—and I think it's a contagious aspect that may be seeping into other areas of governmental action—is that the tax system where one knows the rules has been superseded by discretionary grants dependent on bureaucratic or administrative approval. That really worries me."

Quebec's Robert Bourassa, whose re-election as Quebec premier is assured every time René Lévesque mounts a podium, is on a similar wavelength. B.C. Premier Bill Bennett has based his whole approach to government on galloping deregulation. His province's most recent budget deregulated everything except crime.



CLARK, UPC

Mulroney: moving to banish restraints

Canadian business has picked up the cue. A typical example is Bob Bandeen, a former public sector man (as president of CNR) who is now thriving as president of Crown Life. He recently declared: "There is a need for deregulation to make this country more competitive in the world marketplace. Government should continue the exploration of possibilities for industries to regulate themselves. Canada needs a commitment to take the regulatory shackles off business and to release all the competitive power that exists in Canadian initiative and enterprise."

The most pronounced flight from regulation has so far been in the financial services industry. It all started in 1983, when the Toronto Stock Exchange did away with fixed commissions on stock sales (eight years after the Securities & Exchange Commission set the pattern in the United States), and climaxed this year with approval by the Ontario Securities Commission of the Toronto Dominion Bank's Green Line Investor Service. The ultimate objective is to establish one-stop fiscal supermarkets such as those offered by Sears Roebuck in the United States, which has been selling insurance, real estate, brokerage and banking services since 1981.

This unbundling of a once-sacrosanct division of services is about to hit Canada's most visible monopoly, Bell Canada. The recent breakup of the giant American Telephone & Telegraph Co. could have its parallel here. The communications industry is in the process of effectively deregulating itself: major companies are busy setting up their own satellite long-distance networks.

The current cross-country hearings by the Canadian Transport Commission on future domestic air policy are providing a handy platform for deregulation's supporters and opponents. Predictably, Air Canada and CP Air have forecast financial disaster in an environment of unharnessed competition, while such rogue elephants of the industry as Max Ward and the folks at People Express have welcomed it. Reaction to the experience in the United States, which deregulated its air traffic in 1978, has been mixed. Ten major carriers have gone bankrupt, and jet connections to 74 smaller cities have been abandoned; at the same time, scores of new regional lines have taken up the slack, and many of the same towns now have more service with propeller aircraft. According to *BusinessWeek*, the entire industry in 1983 provided 19 per cent more output with fewer than one per cent more employees.

Whether the entrepreneurial spirit will serve the Canadian public better than the net of regulations that has controlled most of their activities in the past remains an open question, but there is little doubt that the two political princes most likely to control our destinies—Brian Mulroney and John Turner—are determined to try.

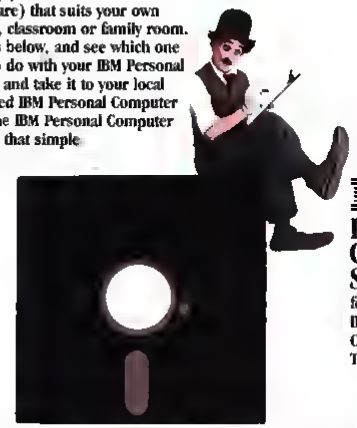
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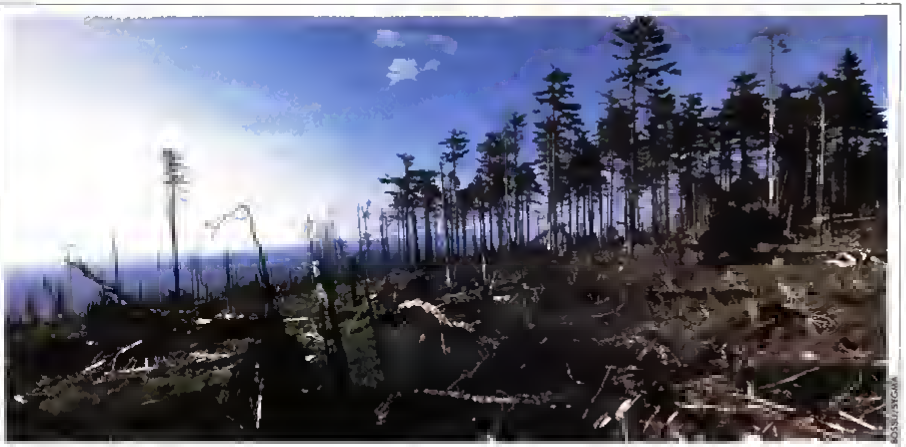
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Dead and dying trees near West Germany's Ruhr River: 'the sad example of Europe tells us there is a danger here'

ENVIRONMENT

Unexplained deaths in the forests

By Pat Ohlendorf

Mysterious dead patches are appearing in the eastern forests of the United States. In parts of Quebec, stands of sugar maples are also dying. No one is certain what is destroying the trees, but forestry experts fear that the situation in eastern North America may be similar to one in West Germany. There, within the past few years, an unexplained affliction has affected a third of the country's huge and economically vital forests, and researchers are concentrating on acid rain and other forms of air pollution in their search for a cause. Environment ministers from Germany and eight other European countries are meeting in Ottawa this week to discuss cross-border pollution problems, and the effects of acid rain are high on the agenda. Said Canada's host minister, Charles Caccia: "We have the sad example of Europe to tell us that there is a danger here that we must wrestle with."

Germany has by far the most severe problem with dying forests, but there is also evidence of tree damage in Austria, Switzerland and Czechoslovakia. The European countries represented at the Ottawa meeting are, with Canada, members of the so-called "30-per-cent club." Their governments (Germany, Austria, Switzerland, France, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Sweden and the Netherlands) have committed themselves publicly to reducing sulphur dioxide emissions from industries within their borders by at least a third by 1993. Conference organizers expected the United States, which has not made a similar commitment, to send observers.

The delegates will attempt to draft a strong resolution to present to the United Nations next September, setting emission standards for all of Europe. But Erich Weber, a German interior ministry meteorologist, told *Maclean's* last week, "Our emission control activities will not help much unless the other European countries, which contribute 50 per cent of our acid deposition, also reduce their sulphur emissions by 30 to 50 per cent." Weber's frustration is familiar to Canadian environmental officials, who have been unable to convince the Reagan administration to act against acid rain emissions in the United States. Said Caccia, "We hope that the diplomatic, psychological and moral impact of the meeting will register the strongest possible message with the Americans."

Three years ago a survey of German forests found that the new disease affected one per cent of the trees. By last year that figure had increased to 34 per cent, covering nearly all species. Said Juergen Pankrath, scientific director of a German government environmental agency in Berlin: "It was very rapid. Our forestry specialists were astonished." But German scientists have not reached a consensus on the cause. Aside from, or in conjunction with, acid rain, they are investigating the ozone emanating from vehicle exhaust and other sources, airborne heavy metals and such natural influences as climatic inversions and drought.

In the United States new reports of growth slowdowns and abnormal numbers of deaths among trees in the higher levels of the Adirondack and Appalachian mountains are alarming forestry specialists. Said Arthur Johnson, a soil specialist at the University of Pennsylvania who has chronicled the deaths of 50 per cent of the red spruces in the high Appalachians: "It would be foolish to ignore the possibility that the German experience could happen." But so far in Canada most scientists view pollution damage to trees as a potential but as yet unproven danger. Quebec scientists are investigating several possible explanations, aside from acid rain, for recent sugar maple deaths. Among the suspected causes are early thaws in combination with subsequent freezing, or pests and parasites. At the same time, a federal environmental researcher plans to join 14 German and U.S. scientists this summer on a tour to compare forest damage in the two countries. And if members of the 30-per-cent club establish a direct link between environmental pollution and the tree malady, it will add weight to their demands for emission cutbacks from their neighbors.

SPACE

Canada climbs aboard

After a nationwide competition that lasted five months and attracted more than 4,300 applicants, Ottawa last week named the first Canadian scheduled to fly in space. Marc Garneau, a 35-year-old naval commander and an expert in communications and electronic warfare from Quebec City, will step aboard the space shuttle Discovery along with five U.S. astronauts on a mission planned to begin on Oct. 24. Chosen as a backup to Garneau is Bob Thirsk, a 30-year-old biomedical engineer and resident doctor at Montreal's Queen Elizabeth Hospital. Federal Science and Technology Minister Donald Johnston declared that a Canadian in space will be a major aid to domestic high-technology industries. Said an exuberant Garneau, "I am quite ready."

Both Garneau and Thirsk belong to the six-member Canadian astronaut team announced last December. When, in early February, the date for the first Canadian to be launched into space was moved from late 1985 to this fall, it forced the authorities to compress a planned 1½-year training schedule into a gruelling eight months. Garneau and Thirsk will spend half of the time divided between space-flight preparation at the Johnson Space Center in Houston and the Kennedy Space Center in Cape Canaveral, Fla. Garneau, who has never flown an aircraft and is only now taking flying lessons, admitted that the accelerated schedule provides a major challenge.

A son of a career army officer, Garneau decided at 16 to join the navy. He attended the Royal Military College in Kingston, Ont., and received a PhD from the Imperial College of Science and Technology in London. Now on a leave of absence as section head of communications and electronic warfare at the department of national defence, Garneau believes that his military experience in testing new equipment under field conditions was a decisive factor in his becoming the first Canadian payload specialist—a choice that he described alternately as "the realization of a dream," "a great honor" and "an absolutely fantastic thrill." Garneau, the only French Canadian of the six, acknowledged that his French background was probably a factor in Ottawa's decision to choose him. He said that his family has reacted to his appointment with mixed emotions. His wife, Jacqueline, he said, was dumbfounded, his eight-year-old twins, Yves and Simone, who have grown up with *Star Wars*, think that being an astronaut is "no big deal."

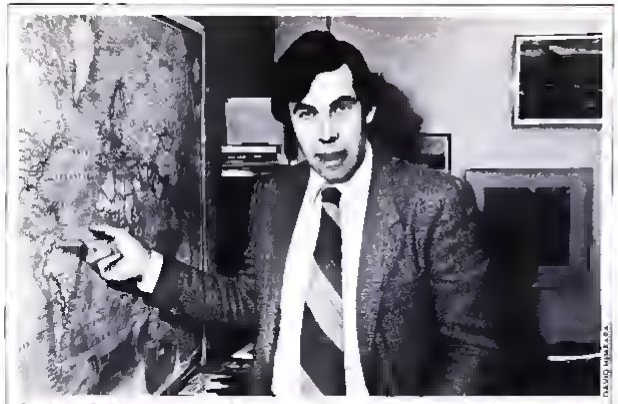
One of the three groups of experiments which Garneau will conduct on board the shuttle is designed to help find a cure for motion sickness, a malady that disables more than 40 per cent of space travellers. Other experiments will test a computerized vision and guidance system for the shuttle and the Canadian-built robotic space arm, known as Canadarm, which is essential if the arm is to manipulate satellites and aid in the construction of the $8-billion space station that President Ronald Reagan announced in his State of the Union address in January. The October shuttle will also be the first flight for a new instrument designed by Environment Canada scientists, the sun photometer, which measures the levels of solar radiation in the atmosphere. Among other things, the results from the sun photometer will be relevant to current acid rain research and to studies of the Earth's ozone layer. If the operation goes well, Garneau, a wine-maker, plans to celebrate his return to Earth on Oct. 31 by opening some of the home-made claret he bottled shortly after his selection as an astronaut candidate last December.

Backup astronaut Thirsk, a New Westminster, B.C., native who celebrated his selection as one of the original six by proposing to his girlfriend, Brenda Biasutti, described his disappointment at being named only as runner-up as "similar to the feeling you get when you go to an exciting movie but you have to leave 10 minutes before the end." Still, he has accepted the decision philosophically—as a dry run for his own eventual flight. Indeed, his chances of eventually joining a space flight are excellent. Even though only two of the six were originally scheduled to fly, Johnston now expects that all of them will go up "within the relatively near future." In fact, Johnston is consulting this week in Ottawa with National Astronautics and Space Administration Administrator James Beggs on Canadian participation in the space station.

The Canadian astronauts are already becoming heady with the larger-than-life mythology of the glamor that already surrounds their U.S. counterparts. Thirsk described himself and his colleagues as a "breed apart" and he lauded Garneau in particular as "the essence of the Canadian astronaut program." In fact, like John Glenn, Garneau admitted that he has a passion for politics. He is articulate and charming with a gentle self-mocking humor in both official languages. If he eventually does launch a political career, Garnasu may prove to be a truly formidable politician. —PAUL TISDALL *in Ottawa.*



Thirsk (left), Garneau: articulate and charming with a gentle self-mocking humor



Clark: charges that new visa requirements exclude those seeking asylum

IMMIGRATION

Monitoring the 'illegals'

In a renewed attempt to solve the troubling and perennial problem of illegal immigrants in Canada, Immigration Minister John Roberts announced last week a two-pronged attack. To prevent foreigners from arriving as visitors and overstaying their legal three-month welcome, Roberts declared that visitors from Guyana, Jamaica, Peru and Guatemala will now need visas before travelling to Canada—even as tourists. Then he announced measures to identify genuine refugees from the violence in right-wing-ruled Guatemala and speed up their settlement in Canada. And he extended the deadline for a program permitting illegal immigrants already in Canada to make their status legal.

The number of countries whose citizens now require Canadian visitors' visas has grown to 91 from 85 in 1980, with 75 others—including Britain and the United States—still exempt. Officials hope to screen out the people likely to stay in Canada illegally by requiring the visa checks first. Roberts said that his department had added those three countries to the list last week "because of serious immigration control problems experienced when visitors from Jamaica, Guyana and Peru have stayed in Canada longer than entitled."

Guatemala's case was different. Officials said their problem is distinguishing genuine refugees, who can claim refugee status in Canada, from the "economic migrants" moving north from their native poverty. By requiring all Guatemalan visitors to obtain visas in advance, Roberts intends to weed out spurious claims. In 1983, 453 Guatemalans claimed refugee status in Canada. The government's refugee status advisory committee reviewed 244 cases and accepted only 172. Canada deported another 14 Guatemalans after they had exhausted their rights to appeal. In effect, the government is trying to choose its refugees before they arrive in Canada.

Refugee aid groups, however, expressed concern. Tom Clark, co-ordinator of the Inter-Church Committee for Refugees, for one, said that the new measures mean "the door is virtually closed" to the neediest people seeking asylum in Canada. He urged Ottawa to double its intake of Central American refugees this year, to 5,000.

By last year the number of visitors arriving in Canada and staying as illegal immigrants had grown to an estimated 50,000. To encourage long-term "illegals" to become full members of the community, the government last summer offered relaxed standards to applicants for landed status who had been in Canada at least five years. By March 6 the government's review body had considered 920 applications, approved 763, refused 70 and deferred 87. To give more people a chance to apply, Roberts extended the deadline to Aug. 31.

Still, the central dilemma of immigration policy remains: how to expedite the entry of people who, on humanitarian grounds, need it and prevent the abuses that can undermine the entire system itself. —JOHN HAY *in Ottawa*

LABOR

Barbs across the border

For more than three months the race between Canadian union leader Lynn Williams and his American challenger, Frank McKee, for the presidency of the United Steelworkers of America had been outwardly decorous and issue-oriented. But when the countdown to the March 29 election began in earnest, wider issues of union policy gave way to a heated debate on the significance of Williams's Canadian citizenship and the union's divisive internal problems. Last week Williams's supporters on both sides of the border levelled charges of bigotry against McKee after the Californian, who is currently the union's treasurer, launched a biting personal attack on Williams's loyalties.

Williams, the international union's acting president since Lloyd McBride died in office last November, was the acknowledged front-runner in the contest for the union's top job. But in campaign speeches to union locals across the United States, McKee questioned Williams's ability and even his political will to lobby the U.S. Congress successfully on behalf of the 599,000 American steelworkers in the Pittsburgh-based international union, which also has about 160,000 Canadian members. And, in a widely distributed pamphlet, McKee accused his Canadian opponent of orchestrating a "Canadian power grab" within the union.

The citizenship issue is a sign of deeper discontent within the tightly organized union. The recession forced the North American steel industry to introduce layoffs and plant closings, affecting steelworkers in both Canada and the United States and reducing union membership to fewer than 700,000 early last year from a 1979 high of 1.2 million. As a result, dues revenues plummeted, forcing the union to retrench by reducing its own staff. At the same time, deterioration in services to union members—combined with the fact that the Canadian industry has begun to show signs of recovery—has fostered suspicions among some U.S. steelworkers about where Williams's first loyalties lie. Some of the American workers contend that the Canadian and U.S. industries' best interests are different and that Williams might tend to favor Canada on questions of protectionism and allocation of funds.

Williams dismisses charges of a po-



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tential bias toward Canadian interests as "not an issue of substance." He acknowledged that McKee's strategy could have influenced beleaguered U.S. steelworkers, but he added that it appeared to be backfiring. Said Williams: "Our members know that this union has been international from the very beginning and that we do not have any second-class citizens."

For his part, McKee maintained that it was Wilhams's Canadian supporters who first raised the nationality issue by forming a Canadian committee to support his bid for the presidency. But he admitted that, although he has "no wish to destroy a traditional U.S.-Canadian relationship in the union, neither do I want to see the American union dominated by a Canadian."

Both Williams and McKee are accustomed to the union's tightly structured executive hierarchy. Both were elected in 1977 as members of McBride's slate of officers. After McBride's death the union's board chose Wilhams as interim president prior to this month's election to determine who will fill the two remaining years of McBride's term. Although it was never made clear, most members believed that Williams was McBride's choice as his successor.

Williams's Canadian support was assured despite some opposition, notably from David Patterson, the Sudbury maverick who unseated a Wilhams loyalist in 1981 to become Ontario director of the union. But other Canadian leaders—national director Gerard Docquier, Quebec-Eastern regional director Clement Godbout and Western director Len Steven—supported Williams. And in the nomination process he gained the support of 510 active Canadian locals out of an estimated 800. But Patterson said last week that he believed Williams was losing support among U.S. steelworkers and that some of the Canadian rank and file would defect to McKee. Said Patterson: "McKee is the better candidate. He has a better track record in negotiations, he came up through the rank and file—which Williams did not." A native of Springfield, Ont., Williams worked at the John Inglis plant in Toronto for a few months before becoming a full-time organizer. But Patterson also conceded that McKee's attack on Williams and his Canadian supporters has clouded the broader issues.

Next week's vote will tell whether McKee's apparent xenophobia could turn the election around. But, even more important, the union's fundamental divisions—and indications of growing nationalist sentiments on both sides of the border—have finally become apparent. And the future of a recession-battered international labor organization looks anything but tranquil.

—ANN FINLAYSON *in Toronto*

CRIME

The trials of a victim

There were times during the "Big Dan's" rape case when it was not clear who was on trial—the 22-year-old woman who claimed she had been gang raped on a barroom pool table or the six men whom police subsequently arrested. The defence portrayed the woman as a welfare cheat and an unmarried mother who barely found time to put her two young children to bed before going out for a drink. Defence witnesses said she was a sex-starved flirt who encouraged men in Big Dan's tavern in New Bedford, Mass., on the night of the alleged rape on March 6 last year. What is more, two television networks—ABC and CBS—and some Massachusetts newspapers took the unusual step of identifying the victim by name. Charged Diane Dexter of New Bedford's Rape Crisis Project: "It is the most publicized rape trial in history, and the victim is being branded in such a way that she will never get over it."



Young instructing the afternoon jury: fears that 'the victim is being branded'

The presiding judge, William Young, even permitted the local cable television company to broadcast the proceedings live. He forbade the cameras from focusing directly on the victim, but viewers could hear her voice, and counsel for both sides frequently used her name in court. As a result, some broadcasters and publishers felt free to use the name as well.

The trial attracted considerable media attention from its beginning on Feb. 23. According to the prosecution, the victim went to Big Dan's to buy cigarettes. She said she stayed for one drink, but when she tried to leave, a man grabbed her from behind and carried her kicking and screaming to the pool table. Two men held her on the table while two others raped her, she alleged, then two men tried to force her to engage in oral sex. In a soft, emotionless monotone, the woman told the court, "I could hear people laughing, cheering and yelling near the bar."

Police charged the six men, all immigrants from Portugal and aged from 23 to 28, with aggravated rape. Some of the accused then made statements implicating others in the group, and, as a result, Young decided to conduct the trial in two parts, with one jury hearing the case against four of the men in the morning and another trying the two others in the afternoon. The afternoon trial ended with two convictions last week, but court officials expected Young to withhold sentencing until the other trial ended, possibly this week.

The televised hearings were the centre of attention in many local bars, including one across the street from where Big Dan's used to operate (the owner closed it soon after the alleged rape). The concern at the Rape Crisis Project was that the victim's experience in the Big Dan's case would dissuade other women from pressing rape charges. Said Dexter: "There is no way they are going to subject themselves to what she is going through."

—WILLIAM LOWTHER *in Washington*



Sultry screen heroine **Carole Laure**, a veteran of more than 25 movies, is already being immortalized in the annals of Canadian film. Last week the respected Canadian Images Film Festival honored the Quebec-born actress with an eight-film retrospective of her work. But Laure, the Genie nominee for best actress for her title role in *Maria Chapdelaine*, was too busy to attend: she was in Hollywood filming *Heartbreakers* with Canadian actor **Nick Mancuso**—nominated for a Genie as her lumberjack lover in the same film. Festival organizers chose to focus on Laure because of her impressive screen credits and large international following. Although the Peterborough, Ont., festival has not yet developed international drawing power to match Laure's, it was a fitting locale for a tribute to the star. Both the actress and the festival have earned a measure of notoriety: she for having starred in sexually explicit films and the festival for having shown one, *Now a Message From Our Sponsor*, three years ago, in defiance of the Ontario Censor Board. Laure, who said that she was "honored and flattered" to be selected for the tribute, was still puzzled about the timing. In fact, at one point she asked the organizers, "Why don't you wait for a few years?" Evidently, a retrospective seemed a little premature to a prolific actress intent on adding to her repertoire.



Laure: impressive credits, an international following and a measure of notoriety

Queen Sofia and **King Juan Carlos** arrived in Ottawa last week for their first official tour of Canada, but the usual pomp and circumstance was noticeably absent—largely because of the frigid weather plaguing the capital. The 45-year-old Greek-born queen declined to attend a wreath-laying ceremony at the city's war memorial, an event that had included plans for a rendition of the Spanish anthem by a 28-member brass band. Instead, a single trumpet player braved the −18°C temperature just long enough to blow both national anthems into the biting 15-m.p.h. winds. The king attended, without a hat, despite the cold and he posed stoically for photographers, masking his discomfort more effectively than Prime Minister **Pierre Trudeau** had managed to do on the previous evening when confronted with a menu of beaver tail consommé and reindeer fillet at a Government House state dinner in the royal couple's honor. But the visit quickly warmed up as Juan Carlos, 46—who in 1975 became the first Bourbon on the Spanish throne since 1931—and his gracious wife visited Toronto, Montreal, Victoria and Vancouver, gliding through several official luncheons, an art exhibition by Spanish painters and tête-à-têtes with the Prime Minister and Quebec Premier **René Lévesque**. When the royal duo ended their tour in Vancouver on March 18, the temperature permitted an appropriate send-off with full military honors.

Queen Sofia, King Juan Carlos: gracious



DARREL TORONTO STAR

Comedians **Jerry Lewis** and **Sandra Berehard** have at least two things in common: the 1983 movie in which they costarred, *The King of Comedy*, and the fact that they were both in Canada last week. But Lewis was in Eastern Canada to promote his latest film, *Slapstick of Another Kind*, while Bernhard was singing and performing standup comedy in the West. And the aggressive, wisecracking Bernhard, 28, who played Lewis's demented fan in the film, now pokes fun at him in her routine. "Jerry Lewis is an unfriendly man. He was not being mean because that was the character he was playing. He was just being mean because he is mean." Offstage she was not much kinder. Said Bernhard: "I think he is okay. He's just kind of sad and pitiful." But Lewis, 58, was much more concerned about other critics' attitudes toward him. Annoyed with North American entertainment reviewers, who he feels fail to appreciate his work, the recent winner of France's Legion of Honor contends that "Over there [France] they think I am the Messiah." As for his former costar, Lewis insisted that he got along with Bernhard just "fine." Said the man about to film *The Nutty Professor II*: "She is a very talented lady. We needed that kind of flake for the film." But he also admitted that he has never seen her stage show. ✪



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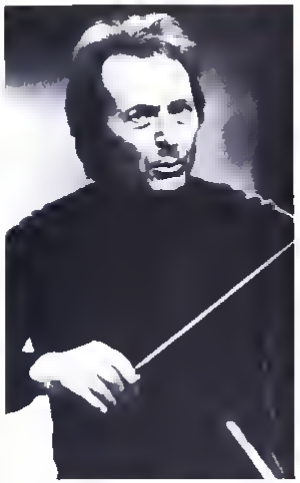
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FOR THE RECORD

Voices from the heart

VERDI FALSTAFF
Conducted By Carlo Maria Giulini
(DG/Polygram, three discs)

Carlo Maria Giulini, the legendary conductor of the Los Angeles Philharmonic, is a perfectionist. Returning to opera in 1982 with Verdi's *Falstaff*, he insisted on total personal control over every aspect of the performance. Having chosen an opera that companies often perform as broad comedy, he then gave it his own more serious and searching interpretation, and the results are exquisite. Every detail of the ebullient and sensuous score glows on his live recording. There is no whiff of coarseness or crudity, wit, vivacity and compassion abound. Giulini assembled a strong, congenial cast including Katia Ricciarelli (Alice), Leo Nucci (Ford) and Barbara Hendricks (Nannetta). His Falstaff, tenor Renato Bruson, delights the ear, largely because he is not the familiar stentorian, swaggering oaf, but a complex creature of fine sensibilities. And as the opera swirls toward its exuberant conclusion, the singing is complemented by the lush and quick-witted playing of the Los Angeles Philharmonic. The perfectionist has polished an operatic gem so that all its facets sparkle.



Giulini, lofty, unforgettable statements

BRITTEN WAR REQUIEM
Conducted by Simon Rattle
(Angel/Capitol, two discs)

Few 20th century composers have had the ability to move hearts as directly and eloquently as Benjamin Britten, and Simon Rattle's fine new recording is further proof. The *War Requiem* is unquestionably a work of genius. Its pity and compassion are inspired by the horrors of the First World War. No one should buy Rattle's recording in preference to Brittan's own luminous 1963 performance. His engineers are perilously preoccupied with their technology's capability to communicate loudness and space. But Rattle's view of the work is sharp-eyed, and a few passages come across with even greater conviction. And his artists are admirable: Robert Tear and Thomas Allen (tenor and baritone) blend superbly, and Elisabeth Söderström (soprano) is less declamatory and more affecting than her precursor, Galina Vishnevskaya. All in all, the new recording is an exciting complement to the composer's own.

—JOHN PEARCE

SEXES

Japan's feminist revolt

With Japanese women now accounting for 40 per cent of the country's work force, their representatives belatedly have begun to fight a rearguard action against generations of discrimination. Yet tradition rests heavily on the shoulders of the feminists of the Orient. Typically, a top executive of Nissho Iwai, one of Japan's biggest trading companies, revealed the prevailing attitude in an interview when he referred to the firm's policy of providing "lifetime employment" for all workers. But then General Affairs Manager Akira Tonegawa noted pointedly: "Of course, I am talking about *real* employees. *Men*, that is." Not surprisingly, in a society in which the ruling Liberal Democratic Party and the business establishment act in unison, the first steps toward eliminating rampant discrimination in Japan have been halting.

Japan reluctantly signed a United Nations convention prohibiting discrimination against women in employment in 1980. As a result, Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's administration now has to draw up some concrete legislation before the nation's parliament can ratify the convention as scheduled next year. But heated debates inside the labor ministry's drafting committee demonstrate the difficulty of outlawing a pervasive form of discrimination that has its roots in a centuries-old tradition of servitude for Japanese women.



MIYAZAWA/BLACK STAR

Underemployed graduates: servitude

The opposition to reform comes from the employers' organizations, which fear the prospect of having to treat females as they do male employees. In a statement that would draw outraged reaction in most other parts of the industrialized world, the president of the Japan Federation of Employers' Associations, Nikkeiren, recently declared that a woman's place is "in the home," and that women should be content with the role of childbearing. Behind the employers' campaign is the realization that women's liberation is still mainly a conversation topic in Japan rather than a mass movement—and that it should remain only that.

By North American standards the discrimination is monumental. According to government figures, fully 60 per cent of the Japanese firms that hire women at all exclude them from training and education programs, while peying them lower wage scales and, in many cases, encouraging them to leave

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when they reach their late 20s or when they marry. As a result, in a nation of "lifetime" employment, women work for a company for an average of 6.2 years. What is more, three-quarters of the companies that annually recruit university graduates refuse to hire women. And of those that do hire female graduates, fewer than half offer them the same training opportunities as men. Instead, most of the women who work in Tokyo's office towers are there to be ornamental or to perform menial tasks which men consider beneath them—making and demurely serving green tea, typing, licking envelopes, relaying telephone calls and doing basic clerical chores. In short, women have been relegated to jobs that make them dispensable in the world of Japanese business. Said Nissho Iwai's Tonegawa, in a reference to the company's lifetime employment system: "We have cut down on women staff considerably with office automation."

While the government and employers continue to operate in the older style, Japanese women are flooding into the job marketplace. 22 million of them at the last count in 1981. Explained feminist writer Toshiko Sunada: "Housewives are entering the market as part-timers, because without the income from wives couples cannot afford extra money for private schools for their children or a small house in the suburbs." But as part-timers they are paid only about three-quarters as well as full-time women employees, who in turn earn about 60 per cent of a man's salary.

For all that, some women have begun to organize for better conditions. Kazuko Yamano, director of the women's bureau at the 4.6-million-member General Council of Trade Unions, led a month-long sit-down at the labor ministry buildings in Tokyo last year to protest against delays in granting employment equality. Last week 1,500 women from all over Japan attended a Tokyo rally to press for speedy legislation of equal rights legislation. In contrast, the Nikkeiren association is lobbying against the inclusion of any specific penalties for discrimination in the legislation. Said Nikkeiren's Hiroshi Kitamura: "I think a 'declaration to make efforts' by companies would be more appropriate."

But the women's bureau is demanding a penalty clause. Said Yamano: "We have learned that goodwill gestures are not enough without a penalty clause." And as long as attitudes toward women in Tokyo's sleek office towers remain the same as those in the farming villages of Japan's hinterlands, the demand for something more than tokenism will continue.

—PETER MCGILL *in Tokyo.*



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The scholarly roots of a superstar

By Jane O'Hara

Wynton Marsalis walks onstage with the measured poise of a chartered accountant, conservatively dressed in a charcoal-grey suit. Then he raises his golden trumpet to his lips and begins breathing a series of quiet, low notes, which soon tumble through clear, bright passages into bluesy growls and slurs. Before long he is toying with the melody, sprinting through arpeggios, hurtling from octave to octave without ever missing a beat or mislaying the harmony. It is a breathtaking performance—an entirely typical one for the new prince of mainstream jazz. At 22, Marsalis has won two Grammys, and his latest record sales compete with those of jazz legend Miles Davis. And Marsalis's tour this month has confirmed his superstar status, with sold-out concerts in Vancouver, the U.S. Midwest and, this week, at Toronto's Roy Thomson Hall. Leonard Feather, author of *The Encyclopedia of Jazz in the Seventies*, says that the bespectacled young man with a horn is "a symbol for the new decade."

But in musical terms Marsalis's talent is two-pronged: he is a trail-blazing hybrid, fluently bilingual in both the jazz and classical fields. Last month he became the first musician in the 26-year history of the Grammy Awards to win the best instrumental soloist award in both categories, for *Think of One*, his second jazz disc, and for *Wynton Marsalis: Haydn/Hummel/L. Mozart Trumpet Concertos*, conducted by Raymond Leppard with the National Philharmonic Orchestra of Britain. The accolades are perhaps only logical achievements for the youngster who received his first trumpet from horn player Al Hirt at the age of 6 and who won the Outstanding Brass Player award at the prestigious Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood, Mass., at 17. Said Philharmonic conductor Leppard: "The wonder is that he is doing it so young and so amazingly well."

Even before Marsalis exploded onto the scene in 1982, the jazz world was looking for him. Traditionally, jazz has always sought out young saviors to widen its limited audience and attract other artists to the field. The major record companies promoted the young John Coltrane and Keith Jarrett to breathe new life into the musical form. Marsalis, aware of his place in the genealogy of jazz, pays respectful homage to his predecessors. He has played with jazz legends Art Blakey and Herbie Hancock and, more significantly, has cut a Columbia album, *Fathers and Sons*, with his father, Ellis Marsalis, a New Orleans jazz pianist. As well, like an archeologist looking for clues to some lost civilization, he spends his free time reading biographies of jazz greats like Duke Ellington and listening to tapes of such phenomenal forbears as Ella Fitzgerald.



Marsalis: a savior of mainstream jazz

The result is a sound that is eclectic and encyclopedic, one that benefits from the stylistic idiosyncrasies of his heroes. Marsalis can make his trumpet purr like Louis Armstrong's, play cool like Miles Davis and then suddenly explode into a Dizzy Gillespie-like shower of sixteenth notes. Said John Norris, publisher of *Coda*, the Canadian-based jazz magazine: "Technically he is an excellent horn player. He is also a very good performer."

But other critics have jumped on Marsalis for being too conservative and for letting his technical virtuosity turn heads rather than allowing his emotions to touch hearts. Still, Marsalis stands by his academic approach to his art. "In the 1960s the music got too hard to play," he said. "Everybody started doing something new before they learned what was old. Now we have all these musicians with no technique."

Marsalis's scholarly interest in the roots of jazz, his phenomenal instrumental technique and even his wire-rimmed spectacles conspire to create the image of a musical egghead. Certainly, he was a precocious child. At 14 he made his debut with the New Orleans Philharmonic. Four years later he entered New York City's world-renowned Juilliard School of Music on scholarship. Before he was 21, CBS had signed him to a unique contract to make both jazz and classical records. Noted Leppard: "CBS has very high stakes in him."

The carefully groomed wunderkind image is not only one that Marsalis dislikes but one that has little to do with the real Wynton. By his own admission he was a "wild kid," immensely sensitive to the racist nuances of life in the United States. A Roman Catholic, he stopped going to mass in his teens because blacks had to sit on the left side of the church. Attending predominantly white schools, he used to glory in refusing to conform to white expectations. "I was the best English student they had," said Marsalis, "but that was only on tests. I never spoke English correct. I'm not gonna talk like you all."

Marsalis's classical training may have offered a temporary refuge from the black ghetto, but there is no question about the prodigal son's real musical home. "I have studied Bartók and Stravinsky and I love them," he said, "but jazz is in the present tense. Why play someone else's music when you can play your own?" Although CBS has scheduled another classical recording next month, it is only a matter of time before Marsalis devotes himself full time to what he calls "the ultimate 20th-century music." Certainly, the young man whom French trumpeter Maurice André has deemed "potentially the greatest horn player of all time" has the gifts to grow in whatever direction he wants.

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RICHARD TAVERTY

Ron and Gigi Moers: training suspicious spouses to be their own detectives

BEHAVIOR

The marriage snoopers

The case involved the other woman, a grey angora cat and a wife who sought help from a new specialized service to confirm her worst suspicions. "A woman came to us in quite a stete," explained Gigi Moers who, with her husband, Ron, runs the Illinois-based Wives Infidelity Service. "Her instincts told her that her husband was up to something, but she didn't know what. We taught her how to really look for clues." Armed for battle, the woman returned to the Moers's service with some of the long grey hairs that she had seen every Wednesday on her husband's jacket when he arrived home from work. Laboratory analysis revealed that they came from an angora cat, and the wife decided to try what Moers calls "the big bluff." That night she told her husband that she knew all about his mistress and his Wednesday afternoon affair, and he confessed all. "Now the couple is in marriage counselling," said Moers. "I think our service may have saved the marriage."

Not all cases end so happily. Ron and Gigi Moers's service for suspicious wives, based in Schaumberg, Ill., attracted national attention last month when they published *The Truth Seekers*, a 185-page guidebook to catching out wayward husbands. The service has attracted more than 400 clients in the past two years—about 95 per cent of them women—and they all discovered that their fears about their spouses were justified. Said Gigi Moers: "Sad to say, we have a 100-per-cent success rate." About half the clients then try to save the marriage, while the other half go into divorce proceedings.

Ron Moers, 40, a former Chicago police detective, and Gigi Moers, 28, who is studying for a law degree, started the service in part because of the high cost of private detectives (a typical investigation can easily cost more than $1,000). They offer five 1½-hour courses for $75, or a one-day crash course for $50, to "teach wives how to become their own investigators." They instruct clients in the use of disguises, cameras, citizens-band radios, infrared "see in the dark" binoculars and special eavesdropping microphones. The Moers have identified seven warning signals that indicate a husband's involvement in an affair: changes in his schedule, personality, grooming or attitude toward sex, a sudden desire to take charge of money matters, unexplained telephone calls and an intuitive feeling by the wife that a mistress has entered the scene.

Some counsellors are wary of the Moers's system of investigation and confrontation. Said one member of the American Association for Marriage and Family Therapy in Washington, D.C.: "I would caution any wife to think very carefully before taking this service on. There can be enormous hurt and damage sitting outside a motel room with a camera, knowing what your husband is doing behind closed doors." Gigi Moers agreed, but added, "We are here for the wife who wants the facts."

—WILLIAM LOWTHER *in Washington*

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BANTING: A BIOGRAPHY
By Michael Bliss
(McClelland and Stewart, 352 pages, $24.95)

When Dr. Frederick Banting addressed the Harvard Medical Society in 1923, a young Canadian medical student noted in his diary that Banting "was greeted with applause such as I have never heard at a medical meeting. It increased steadily in volume as the hero of insulin stood with bowed head." In *Banting*, a carefully documented biography, historian Michael Bliss seems less attracted to the "hero of insulin" than to the man the medical student described as a "typical, stale-looking Torontonian." Bliss, whose previous book, *The Discovery of Insulin*, debunked the myth of Banting as a genius of research, is drawn once again to the man partly because "he touched the life of his time at many points . . . as a friend of the Group of Seven . . . as a sympathiser with Russian communism, as a divorced man tangled in the thickets of his generation's moral dilemmas, and as the central figure launching Canada's medical research effort in Hitler's war."

More importantly, however, Bliss has recognized something in Banting that is quintessentially Canadian. Banting was a farm boy who became a city celebrity, and Bliss views the transformation as emblematic of a society that was also shifting from rural to urban values. He brings to life both the stifling days of the 1921 Toronto summer when Banting and Charles Best toiled over their experiments and the cooler, unfrenzied days when Banting accompanied his friend A.Y. Jackson on painting excursions to Quebec and the Arctic. Even Banting's death, in a 1941 plane crash in Newfoundland, seemed to have an almost novelistic conclusion. "Had he been conscious," Bliss writes, "Banting surely would have been almost content to face death while doing his duty, in the northern wilderness, far from the cities and the people who had wanted so much from him." *Banting* is, in many ways, the historical verification of a life that the Canadian imagination has understood all along.

For the most part, Bliss's prose is strong and lucid. Banting's story is compelling: neither the greatest doctor nor the most brilliant researcher, he was publicly revered as both. His divorce from his wife, Marion, was a spectacularly salacious affair by Toronto standards in 1932, and Bliss treats it with particular verve. From time to time, however, the author has the irritating habit of lapsing into a kind of shorthand or examining the bones of his research. But those are small bumps in a thorough and candid biography.

By the time Fred Banting became Sir Frederick in 1934, diabetics regarded him as the genius who had saved their lives. On the other hand, his colleagues in the search for insulin viewed him as a plodding, dogged, but essentially ordinary individual. Banting himself, although never doubting that he deserved the acclaim he received, had no illusions about his position in the medical pantheon. When Bliss asked C.J. Mackenzie, former president of the National Research Council, whether he thought Banting was a great scientist, he replied "No. Neither did Banting." Banting was an unremarkable man who happened to do one remarkable thing, and the book is an accurate reflection of that fact.

—DAVID MACFARLANE

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() Position last week

A touching ballad of youthful love



McGovern, Penn: a funny, vibrant and slightly sad look at the pleasures that teenagers take just before they have to grow up

RACING WITH THE MOON
Directed by Richard Benjamin

There is not a moment in *Racing With the Moon* that is misjudged, nor an emotion in it that is false. The world it portrays, a small coastal California town during the Christmas season in 1942, has the extremely enclosed, private quality of naturalistic fiction at its best. The main characters, two young men who will soon be inducted into the army, have a disarming candor and freshness. They reveal themselves casually and unaffectedly to the viewer and they have enough depth to be almost always surprising in what they do and say. Hopper (Sean Penn) displays a free-booting attitude that masks the terror of the Pacific jungles ahead. His friend Nicky (Nicolas Cage) cannot even pronounce Guadalcanal, although it is highly likely that he may end up there. Hopper and Nicky will find their rites of passage racing from one foxhole to another.

The art of *Racing With the Moon*, which is old-fashioned and heartwarming, is most definitely the art that conceals itself. Melodrama never intrudes on the anecdotal nature of the story, which is as free and easy in its direction as the exchanges between Hopper and Nicky. Of the two, Hopper is the more sensitive, and Penn gives him an extra dimension by making him a renegade as well: when he plays Chopin for his piano teacher, he breaks into boogie-woogie. Hopper is happy enough to jump over fences and tease the dog next door; he is still a child. But when he erupts at a customer in the bowling alley, his desperation over "having six weeks left" before he comes face to face with the war boils to the surface.

Similarly, Nicky's terror accounts for his rashness and insensitivity. When he makes a girl pregnant and she has an abortion, all he can do while waiting for her is drink from a flask as though it were a milk bottle. He even forgets the common courtesy of opening the car door for her. Nicky's behavior enrages Hopper, and a rift develops between them. It is Hopper's father, a gravedigger (John Karlen), who tells him that Nicky used to spend hours shivering in the cold by his mother's grave and that Nicky might have been so hurt that he now finds it difficult to express emotion. Hopper's and Nicky's friendship is partly the result of the same shared fear. The title, *Racing With the Moon*, refers to their tradition of tempting fate by racing alongside an oncoming train and then jumping it, now they are about to race with time itself.

"Life is too short" seems to be the unspoken refrain in *Racing With the Moon*—too short not to enjoy, to love or to reconcile. The movie is a ballad of youth in which the lyricism of young love is never syrupy or embarrassing. Steven Kloves's script magically captures the agitation of first love as Hopper sees Caddie (Elizabeth McGovern) dancing on a cliff by herself, like a figure out of a daydream. He sends her flowers and then one night hops onto the back of a bus and follows her home. After she has played hard to get, he takes her to his secret place, an abandoned tavern in the woods, and plays Chopin on an old piano for her—without breaking into boogie-woogie. Caddie, with her bewitching blue eyes, represents both the end of Hopper's childhood and his beginning as a man.

The simplicity with which director Richard Benjamin has shot *Racing With the Moon*, with its graceful editing transitions and placidly beautiful camera compositions, is masterful. Time, in the movie, seems to drift like clouds across the sky. Yet when Hopper sees the maimed veterans in the hospital, time begins to race like panic itself. A drunken Nicky brings Hopper to a tattooist and does a little dance for him outside. Hopper asks, incredulously, why he would do such a thing. "Because it gives me pleasure," answers Nicky with an innocent's conviction. *Racing With the Moon*, which is funny, vibrant and slightly sad, is all about those last pleasures people take before they have to grow up. The movie follows a classical tradition of film-making that relies on unforced writing, unobtrusive direction and a sense of true intimacy between its characters. Unhurried and sweet, *Racing With the Moon* will create the same intimacy with its audience.

—LAWRENCE O'TOOLE

ART

A lost world lives again

In the early 1500s, when the greedy Spanish conquistadore arrived in present-day Costa Rica, their hopes for riches were soon dashed. Instead of kingdoms full of gold, they found simple tribespeople scattered through arid plains and dense jungle. To the Spanish, the natives' brightly painted ceramic jars and carved stone tables paled when compared to the monumental pyramids and gold figures of Mexico's Mayans and Aztecs. Disinterest in the art of the region has persisted through the centuries. Now that is changing: last week marked the opening at Calgary's Glenbow Museum of *Between Continents/Between Seas: Precolumbian Art of Costa Rica*. The ambitious show removes the region's native art from the shadow of its more heralded neighbors, and reveals a culture that was complex, skilled and rich in imagination.

At first, the sheer magnitude of the exhibition seems intimidating. Organized by the Detroit Institute of Arts and the government of Costa Rica, the show brings together a thousand years of ceramic, gold, jade and stone artifacts—a total of more than 300 objects—to introduce works from the pre-Columbian period (500 BC to AD 1650). A highly technical catalogue, long explanatory labels and mazelike rows of glass wall cases leave visitors feeling overwhelmed. But the compelling and enigmatic beauty of the works themselves ultimately infuses viewers with a sense of wonder.







Ceramic effigy vessels (above and below left); gold pendant: records of valor and barbarism rich with imagery that brings metal, clay and stone to life

Many of the show's pieces are simply unforgettable. A golden two-headed figure seems to be dancing to the music of his own flutes; on closer inspection he is grimacing, because the objects in his mouth are in fact deadly serpents. Undoubtedly, the precious gold works from the Diquís jungle region are the highlights. The objects are both humorous and grotesque. An alligator-man pendant depicts a figure sporting a reptilian mask with three bug-eyed monkeys resting on his head and arms and two serpents coiling from his mouth. The figure is both haunting and enchanting.

The region's pre-Columbian craftsmen did not develop their distinctive art in isolation but borrowed from the more sophisticated cultures to the north and south. The finely tooled jade work from Nicoya is similar to crafts from the same period found in Honduras and Mexico. Makers of the gold pendants from the Diquís region imitated the metal-working processes of the ancient peoples of Panama. But the rich, mythical imagery of the works on display, in which serpents, alligators, eagles and men spring from gleaming gold and burnished stone into dancing life, marks them as utterly original.

The most striking thing about the show is that despite the simplicity of that ancient culture, it produced objects as beautiful as its more advanced neighbors'. One of the oldest pieces in the exhibit, a globular jar from Nicoya (500 BC to AD 100), gained its elegant design without its maker using a potter's wheel. The craftsman imbued the rounded mass with a sense of weightlessness by engraving the red surface with soaring vertical lines. Other human-shaped vessels that appeared in Nicoya 400 years later show the development of the potter's art: brilliant ochres, reds and blacks transform the moulded pots into detailed caricatures of village elders, women and warriors.

As visitors leave the exhibition they confront a chest-high stone sphere. A native artisan painstakingly fashioned it to represent the moon, the sun or perhaps the cycle of life. Its specific meaning remains a mystery. Like the other works of the pre-Columbian people, the stone puzzles and delights the modern imagination. After centuries of neglect, Costa Rica's treasures are forcing a reappraisal of the true wealth of the New World. —SHONA MCKAY

PUBLISHING

An invasion on campus

For Canada's cultural nationalists, few businesses are as sacred as the book business. Last year, when Brennan College Services, a U.S. bookstore chain, struck a deal with the University of Ottawa to take over the campus bookstore, the federal government's Foreign Investment Review Agency stepped in to block it. In response, the university entered into a marriage of convenience last month, establishing a new corporation called Ottawa-Brennan Inc., giving the foreign chain 49-per-cent ownership. FIRA approved the arrangement, but a group of students and faculty members began to boycott the new bookstore. Now the Canadian Booksellers Association (CBA), with the support of publishers' associations, has turned the fight into a national campaign. The CBA says that the Brennan deal could not only open the door to an invasion by the three or four major U.S. book chains but threaten Canadian publishing as well. Said U of O sociology professor Frederick Caloren: "It is sad and shameful that a large, bilingual university in the nation's capital has to bring in Americans to run its bookstore."



BRYAN WYLIE/MACLEAN'S

Lavoie outrags at U.S. chain

On the Ottawa campus the protest is now shrouded in a sense of defeat. But the CBA has stepped up its campaign, lobbying the federal cabinet to reverse the FIRA decision and organizing an information blitz on campuses across Canada. Earlier this month it staged a three-day conference in Toronto, which resolved that no campus bookstore should lease its operation to a commercial chain. There are no campus leasing chains in Canada, and the Brennan deal marks their first entry into the country. Serge Lavoie, acting executive director of the CBA, said that the chains could hurt the Canadian book trade by paring down inventory as well as bypassing Canadian distributors of U.S. textbooks. The U of O has pledged to purchase books from Canadian sources "where economically feasible," but Lavoie predicted that Brennan will lean heavily on the contacts that its 32 U.S. stores use. Added Lavoie: "It is almost never financially advantageous to buy in Canada."

The U.S. chains are clearly eager to establish themselves in Canada. Over the past six months they have been placing advertisements in trade magazines aimed at Canada's 216 campus bookstores, which represent annual sales of $185 million. An editorial in a U.S. trade journal, *College Store Executive*, suggested that Canadians criticizing the chains "be forced to eat apple pie and hot dogs, watch baseball, drive a Chevrolet and listen to eight continuous hours of *America the Beautiful*." Said Harald Bohne, general manager of the University of Toronto's four retail outlets: "Universities are generally in a tight financial squeeze. This kind of offer will look attractive to many of them." Bohne, who is also the director of the U of T Press, declared that the chains could hurt Canada's academic publishing industry. Their usual policy, he said, is to strip a store's inventory down to required textbooks and clear out slow-moving or "marginal" titles, which are often Canadian.

On the Ottawa campus Rector Roger Guindon said that there is no cause for alarm. He added, "If Canadian booksellers are too hungry and price themselves out of the market, that's their problem." Guindon's main concern is to wipe out his bookstore's $800,000 deficit. Although the battle for the U of O bookstore appears to be lost, Lavoie says he hopes that the CBA's broader protest will "whip up the same kind of fervor" that greeted U.S. attempts to dominate the Canadian publishing industry in the late 1960s. Creating such a fervor, however, may be much more difficult in the more mercantile 1980s. —BRIAN D. JOHNSON

COLUMN

The case history of a slush fund



By Allan Fotheringham

How do the Liberals buy votes with your money? Let us count the ways.

In February of 1983 there was the incorporation in Toronto of something that called itself the Canadian Alliance for Italian Integration and Culture. The address was Suite 300, 295 College St. in that city. The corporation was subject to the Charities Accounting Act and the Charitable Gifts Act. A noble group, in other words, intent on doing charitable work for ethnic communities with particular reference to the Italian community. Among those on the board of directors were Giacomo Capitanio, Joe Volpe and Albina Maria Guarnieri.

We now come upon a second document, dated August of 1983. It is titled "A Discussion Paper on Integration and the Italian Community's Relations with the Liberal Party." It is full of talk about "principles and ideals" and goes on to state that "it is necessary to fund loyal and valid agencies within our community in order to satisfy the needs of" seniors and small business and youth and so on. One of the recommendations reads, "Reach out into the community through an office established in an area where Italians are most numerous so as to identify needs and to minister to them." There are 16 names attached, those "who contributed to the preparation of this paper." Among them, again, are Giacomo Capitanio, Joe Volpe and Albina Maria Guarnieri. Mr. Capitanio happens to be vice-president of the York West Federal Liberal Association. Mr. Volpe was the Liberal candidate in the Ontario provincial riding of Downsview. Miss Guarnieri lists her qualifications as "Director of Communications" of the Canadian Alliance for Italian Integration and Culture. Among the others listed are Liberal MPP Michael Spensieri, legislative assistants and aldermanic candidates. The Italian Canadians in the Liberal party feel they need a storefront office to minister to their flock. Well and good.



The next thing we come upon, strangely enough, is a "Proposal for a Job-Creation Program in Social Services Field to Meet the Needs of the Community in North-west Toronto." It went, of course, to the famous minister of employment and immigration, John Roberts, the Liberal leadership candidate who turned the $300-million Special Employment Initiatives Program into a private little slush fund for Liberal MPs. This job creation program was submitted by something called the Canadian Alliance for Integration and Culture. They have dropped the word "Italian," but our old friend Joe Volpe is listed as chairman. Objectives? "To open a storefront 'office-meeting place' conveniently located in 'Eglinton-Lawrence' and open to all who require assistance in accessing services." The MP for Eglinton-Lawrence, perchance, happens to be a Liberal, Rev. Roland de Corneille, who passed on the application to the philanthropic Minister of Slush, J. Roberts.

The application has a detailed budget: executive director at $29,000, administrative co-ordinator (whatever that strange beast may be) at $23,000. There is "field staff (7 x $18,000) for $126,000" and "field support staff (10 x $12,000) for $120,000." Bet you didn't know you needed field staff in a storefront office. There are travel costs at $10,000, which seems a lot for cab fares in Eglinton-Lawrence. In all, the request added up to a neat $583,500.

Presto! Faster than a speeding leadership candidate, the phoney front for Toronto Liberals has $583,500 as jobs-for-the-boys. What is now called Alliance Community Services has its storefront office, as of January, at 3271 Dufferin St. Those who weren't astounded were outraged. Maria Minni is volunteer president of Canada's largest immigrant aid organization, COSTA-IIAS Immigrant Services. She says it is "absolutely absurd that more than $500,000 in federal funds is being used to set up an organization with no track record in providing social services." She says the new group will create confusion, duplicate existing social services and will run counter to everything that has been done in that field over past years.

The United Way of Toronto wrote to Roberts on Jan. 17 in protest, pointing out that there had been no consultation with Toronto authorities or agencies. It pointed out that it has only $248,000 for new programs in Metro Toronto each year, gets 71 applications for that money—and here are the feds dishing out $583,500 for one little slush basket. The Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto wrote to Roberts: "It is a slap in the face to this social planning organization as well as many other direct-service agencies to have this action occur at such a fragile moment in the life of the nongovernment sector."

What we have here, of course, is a neat little Liberal scam enabling former, present and future Liberal candidates, provided with the "field staff," to go door to door in the ethnic areas of Toronto to identify potential voters and to plug them into their computer. Jimmy Coutts, the redoubtable Spadina candidate, would like to spread his influence into other ridings. If the Liberals might want to get rid of the troublesome Jim Fleming in York West, the storefront snoops will come in handy.

On Feb. 14, when questioned in the Commons by the gutsy Ian Waddell, the NDP MP from Vancouver-Kingsway, the smooth Mr. Roberts said, "I can assure him that there is not a political determination in the decision-making process when I approve or reject a proposal or project." Waddell said, "In short, this grant smells." He was wrong. It does not smell. It stinks.

Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for Southam News.

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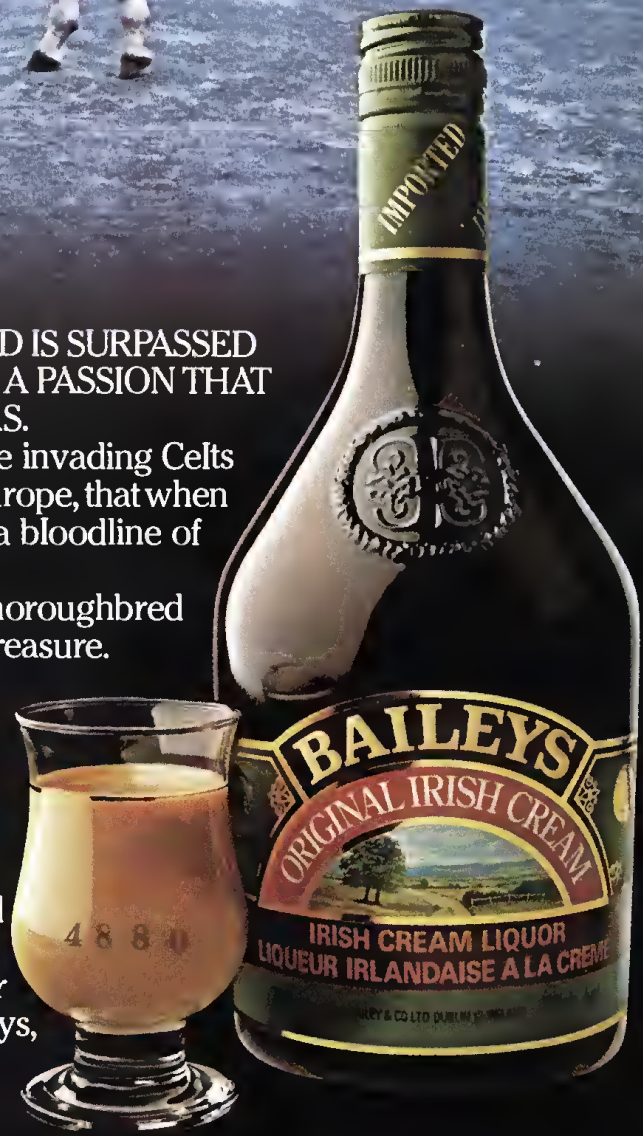
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